The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by Edward C. Hegeler

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MARRIAGE OF HERACLES AND HEBE IN OLYMPUS.
(From Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder*, Pl. XV.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE KING OF THE MEDIUMS.

BY ROBERT P. RICHARDSON.

SPIRITUALISM, like other forms of the occult and mysterious, seems to have a perennial interest for the public mind. Ghost-stories and tales of messages from the dead are coeval with the human race, and spiritualistic "phenomena" far antedate the spiritualistic cult which only came into being toward the middle of the nineteenth century.

Our modern spiritualism took its rise in the "Rochester knockings" of the Fox sisters in 1848. These mediums soon found imitators, spiritualism became fashionable, and for a while mediumship and prosperity went hand in hand. Some years later the movement suffered a temporary eclipse, the priesthood having been too often detected in deception and fraud, while the inconstant public had found other fads more diverting.

The collapse was not complete; the faith of many believers never wavered, and the movement survived, though on a much diminished scale. Of recent years it has gained some ground and appears to be again approaching an apogee. The feats of their favorite mediums are brought well into view by certain eminent devotees of the day, but a discreet oblivion is decreed to the strange fact that the phenomena ascribed to the seers of the twentieth century are child's play in comparison with the prodigies of the palmy days of spiritualism. The doings of these older mediums can lay as much claim to authenticity as those of their successors, and it may not be unprofitable to recall some of the marvels of bygone days.

By far the most wonderful of the wondrous mediums of the nineteenth century was Daniel Dunglas Home. Born near Edinburgh in 1833, he had as father the illegitimate son of the tenth Earl of Home, while on his mother's side he was descended from

a Highland family in which the traditionary Scottish gift of the second sight had been preserved. Scotland did not long hold the heir to these powers, for, adopted by his aunt, Mrs. Cook, he was taken to the United States at the age of nine. His early youth was marked by one or two visions of the departed, but the first sign of real mediumship came at the age of eighteen.

At this time Daniel was not in the good graces of his aunt, a staunch member of the Kirk of Scotland, who resented her adopted son's espousal first of the Wesleyan and then of the Congregational heresy. One morning at breakfast, while the good lady was finding fault with Daniel and the prayer-meetings he attended, her ears were assailed by a perfect shower of raps all over the table. Young Home knew, he tells us, of the spiritualistic "Rochester knockings," but only in a casual way, and was as much surprised as his aunt. The latter ascribed these raps to the Evil One, but none the less became for some strange reason exceedingly angry at Daniel, accused him of bringing the Devil into her house, and seizing one of the chairs threw it at him. As the tale runs (told by Home himself), the only cause for connecting the phenomena with her nephew would seem to be his attendance at the wrong church, but with a glorious inconsistency the old lady next proceeded to send for the heretical village ministers, Baptist, Wesleyan and Congregationalist, and begged them to pray over Daniel.

The ministrations of these clergymen were of no avail. The rappings continued to occur, and furniture began to be moved about without any visible cause. Upon one occasion, as the table was running around the room, Mrs. Cook endeavored to drive the Devil away and stop the performance by placing the family Bible upon it. But the table jogged on at an even livelier gait, and when, determined to stop the motion, she threw her whole weight upon it, she was actually lifted up bodily from the floor.

A week of these performances, aggravated by the curiosity of the neighbors who almost besieged the house, exhausted the patience of his aunt, and Daniel was suddenly turned out of doors. Mrs. Cook, it would seem, acted as she might have been expected to behave had she believed herself the victim of the incorrigible pranks of an overgrown boy. That, however, she took no such view but believed the phenomena to be of supernatural origin we know from Home's own account, and this is all we have to go by.

On leaving the house of his aunt at Greenville, Connecticut, Home found temporary refuge with a friend in the neighboring town of Willimantic where he exhibited to the excited townspeople

the phenomena brought about by his mediumship. After a stay of some weeks he passed on to another place, Lebanon, as the guest of the Ely family. Here one of his first exploits was the recovery, under spirit guidance, of certain valuable title-deeds through which a lady in straightened circumstances came into her inheritance that had been withheld her for want of these missing papers.

Home was now fairly launched on his career as a medium. Solicited to take payment for his seances he constantly refused, and laid down the rule, to which he adhered for life, never to traffic in his mysterious gift. Henceforth he led the life of a man practising no trade or profession and with no visible means of support save the donations of his admirers. As a guest, exercising his mediumistic powers for the benefit of his hosts and their friends, he found welcome in one home after another; transportation to a new abode being provided, if not by those who would welcome the coming, by those who would speed the parting guest. Of suitable clothing he seems to have had no lack, and when he reached the higher circles of the European nobility and royalty itself summoned the great medium, it became customary to reward his exertions by a parting gift of valuable jewels. Thus abnegation went not unrewarded, and many a medium who eked out a miserable existence by seances at so much a sitter must have envied the lot of Home the unpayed.

The American audiences of Home soon included visitors from the extreme Southern and Western states who came from these remote quarters to observe his phenomena. And such men as Prof. David A. Wells of Harvard and William Cullen Bryant were so impressed that they drew up and signed a declaration describing the wonderful manifestations they had witnessed, winding up, somewhat dogmatically, with the statement: "We know that we were not imposed upon nor deceived." Dr. Hare of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor Mapes of agricultural chemistry fame, and Judge J. W. Edmonds of the New York Court of Appeals likewise investigated the phenomena, and though approaching the subject "as utter skeptics" all three became fully satisfied. Some years later Judge Edmonds wrote an introduction to Home's autobiography endorsing spiritualism in general and Home in particular.

The spiritualistic movement was now getting into full swing in the United States, and mediums were springing up everywhere. How far this competition affected Home's livelihood we do not know, but it appears he ceased to confine his ministrations to circles "consisting of gentlemen of education and means," and went

"amongst the poorer classes" in order to impart to them the cheering truth of spirit communion. At one time, he tells us, he was on the verge of studying for the Swedenborgian ministry, but was admonished by the spirits that his mission was a more extended one than pulpit preaching. Later he purposed taking up medicine, and was supplied by his friends with the means to pursue the preliminary studies necessary for entrance to a medical school. But, though the spirits interposed no veto, this project never materialized. Indeed Home already possessed, it would seem, greater control over disease than the physicians. Early in his career he had healed Mrs. Bill of Lebanon of a dangerous illness by going into a trance and making passes over her, prescribing, however, further treatment with simple herb remedies. "In Springfield, also," he tells us, "there were many instances of the sick being healed. I was so sensitive to any one who came near me in a diseased state, that I not only myself felt but accurately described their symptoms, and the seat and causes of the disease." None the less, the healer seems to have been unable to heal himself and to have mistrusted mediumistic diagnosis in his own case; his left lung became affected, the symptoms grew more and more alarming, and "Dr. Gray of New York and other eminent medical friends whom he now consulted" united in declaring his life in danger and in recommending a trip across the Atlantic. "This recommendation," says his wife, "was the sole and sufficient reason why Home quitted America." Financed by his friends for missionary work in the cause of spiritualism, he sailed from Boston in the spring of 1855, and taking up quarters at a London hotel in Jermyn Street, soon found a firm friend and ally in Mr. Cox, the proprietor.

Europe at this time was an almost virgin field for the exhibition of spiritualistic phenomena. In England Home had, in fact, no predecessor worth mentioning aside from Mrs. Haydon, a medium far below him in power. Successful seances were held in the rooms of his hotel, and his fame began to spread. Lord Brougham and Sir David Brewster were among the early sitters at Cox's hotel, and when a little later Home held seances at Ealing, as guest of a London solicitor, the circle had as members Bulwer-Lytton, Mrs. Trollope and T. Adolphus Trollope, the first of these being admonished by the spirits to believe on the cross. The Brownings likewise attended a seance here, and from this arose the poem "Mr. Sludge, the Medium." Home's enemies claimed this to be the result of his detection in fraud, while his friends contended that Browning's vanity had been deeply wounded by the spirits placing a wreath of

clemantis on Mrs. Browning's head instead of upon his own, and that in revenge he unjustly attacked Home in these verses.

At all events, the Ealing seances resulted in an invitation being extended to Home to become the guest of Mrs. Trollope at her Florence villa. Home went to Italy in the early autumn, and passed several months in Florence. Requested to give his attention to a haunted house occupied by an English resident he held several seances there, and succeeded in laying the ghost whose noises disturbed the repose of Mrs. Baker. Equal success attended the evocation of new and more desirable spirits, the manifestations at Florence being especially strong. Upon one occasion, while the Countess Orsini was playing upon a grand piano, the latter "rose and balanced itself in the air during the whole time she was playing." Investigation showed that the spirit of the Countess's father had taken this quaint way of announcing its presence.

Favored though he was by the spirits Home did not find Florence a bed of roses. Scandalmongers accused him of "leading a most dissolute life," and his friends in England, believing the report, refused, he says, "to even send me money of my own which had been entrusted to their care." Whatever may have been the life he led in Florence, he seems to have made enemies as well as friends, since an attempt was made to assassinate him. One evening, as he entered his doorway, an Italian gave him three blows with a poignard and then ran away. No serious wound resulted from this assault, and following it attempts were made to arouse animosity among the superstitious lower classes by spreading rumors that Home administered the sacraments of the Catholic Church to toads as a means of raising the dead. Warned by the Tuscan authorities that it was unsafe to show himself on the public streets, Home decided to leave Florence. After announcing that his spirit guides had informed him his powers would leave him for a year, Home accepted an invitation to visit Naples and Rome as the guest of Count Branicka, and in February, 1856, again set out on his travels.

Notwithstanding his loss of power, Home's presence aided in developing mediumship in others. At Naples he found a medium in Prince Luigi, brother of the King, and met Robert Dale Owen who was converted to spiritualism in the presence of the Prince. The latter was so taken with Home as to present him with a ring set with a ruby in the form of a horseshoe. After six weeks' stay in Naples the Branickas and Home proceeded on to Rome.

This city was now to be the scene of Home's adoption of the Catholic faith. It would naturally be supposed that spirit advice

would be paramount in so momentous an issue, but it did not even enter into consideration. In fact, the weighty question as to which of the Christian sects is right seems to be left quite unsettled by spirit communications, though on one occasion a departed friend assured Home that on the other side he "had seen no personal God." T. A. Trollope remarks that in his experience with Home the spirit messages given a sitter impartially favored the sect to which he already belonged, strengthening his particular form of Protestantism or confirming his Catholicism as the case might be. In Home's conversion the failure of supplies from his Protestant English friends seems to have played some part, and the kind attentions of the Catholic Branicka family may be presumed to have had its influence. Received into the bosom of the Church, he was favored by Pius IX with an audience, and the Pope is said to have subsequently sent "his special blessing guaranteeing to Home and to his relatives an entry into Paradise."

For a time Home contemplated entrance into some monastic order, but the attractions of the world proved too strong, and he accompanied Count Branicka to Paris in June, 1856. Here he vegetated for the next eight months, breaking the monotony by frequent conferences with his confessor, who forbade him to have anything again to do with spirit intercourse—an admonition he felt himself unable to obey.

The date of the predicted return of Home's power, the tenth of February, 1857, was known at the French court, and on the eleventh the chamberlain of Napoleon III presented himself to inquire if the expectation had been realized. An affirmative reply brought Home an Imperial invitation to exhibit his phenomena, and on the thirteenth he was presented to the Emperor and Empress, and held a seance at the Tuileries. The spirits replied by their raps to the mental as well as the spoken queries of the Emperor, and for the Empress was materialized the hand of her father which she identified by a defect in one of his fingers. At a second seance a table was levitated several feet, and a handkerchief that the Empress held in her hand was softly taken from her by invisible means, and seen to rise and float in the air, while the small hand of a child was materialized to the great terror of the Duchess of Montebello. At a third seance the hand of Napoleon I was materialized; this, after writing a beautiful Napoleon autograph, allowed itself to be kissed by the Emperor and Empress.

Home's reputation was now firmly established, and the fashionable world flocked to his seances. So pleased was the Empress

Eugenie with him that she engaged to care for the education of his sister Christine, who was for this purpose brought over to France and placed in an aristocratic convent. Home himself was summoned again and again to hold seances at the court. In one of these, it is noted, the spirits kindly reminded the assembly that it was time to attend mass which all had forgotten in their excitement. Some especially striking manifestations took place in the presence of the King of Bavaria who was badly frightened at what he saw. It was not long before the Duchess of Hamilton took Home to Baden-Baden where the King of Württemberg and the Prince Regent of Prussia investigated his phenomena. Invited to the Hague he held successful seances before the Queen of the Netherlands who at his departure drew one of her rings from her fingers and insisted upon his acceptance of this memento.

The frequent seances held by Home proved a tremendous strain upon his vitality and ill health again overcame him. Ordered by his physicians to Italy he visited Rome in the early part of 1858 and there made the acquaintance of Count Koucheleff-Besboroda, reputed one of the richest of Russian noblemen. Home was presented to the Countess and to her sister, Alexandrina de Kroll, youngest daughter of Count de Kroll, a Russian general. Within twelve days he was engaged to this girl, an heiress and the goddaughter of the Czar, and their marriage took place in St. Petersburg in August. Alexander Dumas made a special trip to Russia to be present at the wedding of his friends, who had as groomsman Count Bobrinsky, Chamberlain of the Imperial Court. A few days after Home's arrival in Russia he was invited to hold a seance at Peterhof, but, for the time being, his power had left him, and it was a full month before he was able to obey the command of the Czar. Finally however, finding himself in fit condition, he presented himself at court, and spent a week holding seances with the Russian monarch. Alexander II presented him a diamond ring, and on Home's subsequent visits to Russia repeatedly summoned him to hold seances anew. Later gifts of the Czar included an emerald ring set with diamonds, bestowed upon the birth of a son to Home, and a ring set with a sapphire of great size surrounded by diamonds, on the occasion of his second marriage in 1871 to another Russian lady of the Aksakoff family.

During Home's honeymoon he was granted a holiday by the spirits, except when it was necessary to oblige royalty. Indeed, it was not until November, 1858, that his full power returned. Mrs. Home, who had originally been a doubter, now became a convinced

spiritualist and assisted at her husband's seances. One night, we are told, the spirit of Cagliostro appeared to Mr. and Mrs. Home in their bedroom and accepted the position of guardian angel to the overjoyed couple. Notwithstanding this protection and the miraculous gift of healing, which Home still enjoyed and continued to exercise from time to time, Mrs. Home developed tuberculosis at the early age of twenty-one, and after eighteen months' suffering died in 1862. And the disconsolate widower found a lawsuit on his hands when he attempted to realize on her estate which was under the control of his brother-in-law.

The sixties and early seventies were the years in which Home's mediumistic power was most strongly shown. Beings from the other world watched over him with special solicitude. At Cerçay his life was miraculously preserved from a falling tree limb of monstrous size, the spirits taking him by the collar of his coat, lifting him from the ground and drawing him six or seven feet aside out of the path of danger. As a memento Home sawed off and preserved a segment of the branch, and on subsequent occasions some very marvelous manifestations took place with it. At this height of his renown Home had in England such sitters as Sir Edwin Arnold, Thackeray, Bright, Buckle, De Morgan, the Master of Lindsay, Lord Adare and his father (the Earl of Dunraven), Lord Dufferin, Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Houghton. Nassau Senior attended a seance and used his influence with Longmans to induce this firm to stand sponsor for the first volume of Home's *Incidents in My Life*, published in 1863. It is claimed that many observers were convinced of the genuineness of the manifestations but were too fearful of public opinion to avow their convictions openly and permit their names to be published. Crookes, introduced to Home by Lady Burton (infamous for the destruction of the manuscript of her husband's *Perfumed Garden* under the combined influence of priests and spirit apparitions), began his celebrated investigations into the phenomena in 1871, and attained perfect conviction that they were all Home claimed them to be. And it is noteworthy that, after Home ceased to hold seances, Crookes found he could not get along with his experiments because the other mediums of London were such cheats. "I am so much disgusted with the whole thing," he wrote to Home in 1875, "that were it not for the regard we bear to you, I would cut out the whole spiritual connection, and never read, speak or think of the subject again."

Fertile as these years were in phenomena, they did not leave Home free from care as regards his finances. We find him in 1863

deciding to take up the study of art and become a sculptor, but on going to Rome for this purpose, after a stay of six weeks, he was expelled by the papal authorities as a sorcerer. Some time later he decided to eke out his livelihood, while awaiting a legal decision in the matter of his wife's estate, by giving readings and lectures, and appeared on the public platform a number of times. In 1866 he obtained the position of secretary to the newly founded and shortlived *Spiritual Atheneum* and in this capacity met Mrs. Lyon.

Mrs. Jane Lyon was a wealthy widow, elderly and somewhat vulgar, and interested in spiritualism. Her life was a lonely one, and the fact that she had few friends, and none of any social standing, seems to have weighed upon her. She had read Home's *Incidents* and been much impressed by the aristocratic circles in which the great medium moved. Hearing of the opening of the *Atheneum* she called to inquire about it and was received by Home. She at once took a fancy to him, and seems to have conceived the project of advancing her social position, and mingling with the aristocracy by a matrimonial alliance. Just how far she was influenced in her subsequent actions by spirit messages from her departed husband, delivered through Home, we do not know, as his version of the matter and hers are materially different. But at all events, finding that her hints on the subject of marriage met with a cool reception, she decided to content herself for the present with proposing to adopt Home as a son, and have him shed part of his luster on her by the addition of Lyon to his surname. Ten days' acquaintance sufficed to bring her to the point of making this proposal, sweetened by an offer to transfer to him £24,000 of her money. Mrs. Lyon claimed that spirit communications purporting to be from her husband were what brought her to take this step, while Home denied it. He, however, admitted that spirit messages from the departed Mr. Lyon were given through him. It was only after much urging, according to Home, that he consented to Mrs. Lyon's proposal and accepted the money. A little later an additional amount of £6000 was bestowed upon him, followed by the making of a will bequeathing him Mrs. Lyon's entire fortune, and, to avoid legacy duty, there was immediately transferred to him £30,000 with the understanding that during her lifetime Mrs. Lyon was to receive the income from this last amount.

The arrangement thus made did not long remain satisfactory to Mrs. Lyon. If she did not still have lingering hope of ultimate marriage, she at least expected to gain in social relations, and Home, who found her a difficult person to get along with, does not appear

to have introduced her to his fashionable friends. Friction arose, and she gave her ear to another medium whose messages were hostile to Home. The upshot was, after a few months, a demand on her part for the return of the £60,000 she had transferred to her adopted son. Home replied by offering to cancel the deed by which the last £30,000 had been settled upon him, provided she would leave him in undisputed possession of the first £30,000, and make written acknowledgment of the personal honesty of himself and his friends. A suit at law for the recovery of the whole was then brought by Mrs. Lyon. While this litigation was in progress, a man, one evening, waylaid and attempted to stab Home as the latter was returning to his hotel. After inflicting a wound on the back of the hand of his victim, which the latter threw up in self-defense, the would-be assassin ran away. This outrage aroused some sympathy for Home, but had no influence upon the lawsuit. The decision was in favor of Mrs. Lyon, it being ruled that Home had been proved to exercise dominion and influence over the plaintiff, and that upon him hence rested the burden of proof that the gifts made him were the pure, voluntary, well-ordered acts of the giver.

The Franco-Prussian War brought to Home the new role of war correspondent. It is not recorded that spirit communication helped him either in gathering news for his paper or in transmitting it to London, and his experiences during the war do not seem to be differentiated from those of his colleagues, except that his former seances at Baden-Baden won him recognition and a greeting from William I at Versailles. Home's marriage in the following year, and the death in 1872 of the daughter resulting from this union marked the end of his intensive activities. He now settled down into domesticity, holding only occasional seances, over-exertion on his part being carefully guarded against by the spirits and by his wife.

In 1877 he published his *Lights and Shadows of Spiritualism*, a large portion of which is devoted to attacks upon other spiritualists. He here fell foul of Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky of theosophical fame. Some of Home's animus in this case can be attributed to the desertion of the cause of spiritualism for that of theosophy, by the founders of the latter movement, at a time when the former appeared to be a rapidly sinking ship, but personal reasons may also have played a part, as Olcott had taken occasion to remark that "a well-known artist in Hartford" had stated that he detected Home "in acts of deception, both before his departure for Europe, and during a subsequent visit to this country." What-

ever may have been the motive, it is interesting to compare the account given by Olcott of the seances held by the Eddy brothers, in his *People from the Other World* (written when he was a spiritualist), with the same events as described by other witnesses ferreted out by Home, and see how the wonders described by Olcott fade away.

Home's criticism of theosophy and its supporters were drastic, and Mrs. Home ascribed to theosophists the statement that as result her husband had been solemnly cursed by H. P. B. "whose curses, it was added, always slew." But the reputed theosophical curse does not seem to have weighed heavily upon Home, who quietly passed the remaining years of his life, free from financial cares, in the company of his adoring wife. His death took place in France in 1886, and the unwavering admiration of his widow is evinced by her essay in biography published in 1888, *D. D. Home, His Life and Mission.*

What, it may well be asked, were the phenomena by which Home gained so high a reputation? What was it that hopelessly puzzled men of high scientific attainments and even brought about their conversion? What were the marvels which brought literary and social leaders to beg the privilege of sitting in Home's circles and which made emperors summon him to hold seances with them again and again? We may pass over the rappings, ringing of bells, playing of accordions and guitars, assumption of apparently new personality in a trance state, and the conveyance of spirit messages as to the whereabouts of pins and of pussy cats—these feats are the common stock performances of most mediums. Far more than this was shown by Home to the favored among his sitters. Often, when the spirits deigned to make known their presence in a room, the very walls would shake and the floor vibrate like the deck of a moving steamer. Tables waltzed around, rocked to and fro in time to the various tunes and tipped themselves over at an angle of forty-five degrees without any of the objects on top falling off. Under these trying circumstances everything from a lead-pencil to a lamp retained its position, until at a word from the medium the law of gravitation would again come into force, and the objects on the inclined surface glide gently down to the very edge to be once more safely arrested at that point. Such tipping took place even when a spectator jumped upon the table, he being retained on the polished surface while it remained at the angle

of forty-five degrees, but being thrown off when it finally cantered to an almost perpendicular inclination.

Upward movements of the furniture were also observed. Upon one occasion, when Lucas, editor of the London *Star,* and John Bright were present, a table with a stout gentleman sitting on top of it was "not only raised but tossed up as you would toss a baby in your arms." Sir William Crookes testified that "on five separate occasions a heavy dining-table rose between a few inches and one and a half feet off the floor, under special circumstances, which rendered trickery impossible." And at the house of Mrs. Milner Gibson a large table rose in the air and floated away from the company high above their heads, passing over sofas and chairs on its way. Sometimes Home himself would be levitated and float around the room writing upon the walls and ceiling with a crayon. In one such case the Count de Beaumont, to convince himself of the reality of what he saw, seized the boots of the medium, and pulling them off left Home floating around in the air in his stocking feet. And Lord Adare and the Earl of Crawford testified that in 1866 Home in their presence walked out of an open window into the bare air eighty-five feet above the ground, and then floated back through another window into the next room.

Not content with levitating Home the spirits would sometimes make him undergo elongation and compression. His height would be increased some six or eight inches, and he would then shrink below his normal stature to a like amount. As can readily be imagined, this and other phenomena were a great strain upon Home's vitality, but his spirit controls were not without care for his health, and would at times tell the host of the evening (through the vocal organs of the medium) that after the seance he must "give Daniel some bottled porter." It may be remarked that the spirits themselves at one seance consumed, or at least disposed of part of a glass of brandy and water, taking the glass under the table, and returning it with its contents in an apparently much diluted state.

Materialization of spirit hands was a great feature of Home's seances. These might appear in any part of the room, far above the heads of the spectators or in one's immediate vicinity. Of all shapes and sizes, they were sometimes deathly cold, sometimes warm like flesh and blood, and it was observed that they terminated at the wrist. Most remarkable was the fact that they could be clasped in one's own hand and be held for a moment, but would then melt away. Sir William Crookes tells us that he took hold of such a hand, firmly resolved not to let it get loose, but it gradually

seemed to resolve itself into vapor, and faded in that manner from his grasp.

Most wonderful of all, perhaps, was the power shown by Home to handle, and let his sitters handle, hot bodies with impunity. Home would go to a glowing fire, stir the red-hot coals about with his hands, and, placing his face in contact with the burning mass, move it about as if he were merely bathing his head with water. He would take out a lump of red-hot coal with his naked hands, and throw it on the white muslin dress of a lady, or place it on the head of a white-haired old gentleman, or lay it in the naked hand of a sitter without harm to cloth or hair or skin. Held in the hands of a lady, such a glowing mass would feel merely warm to her, while when she bent down to examine it more closely the heat radiated to her face would be so intense as to be unbearable. But woe to the sitter who did not have full faith or whom the spirits selected as a witness that the body was really hot. When such a sitter even touched the coal his finger would be burnt and blistered in a most painful way. These fire phenomena and other higher manifestations, were not, to be sure, exhibited to every one, but they were testified to by a number of witnesses, and the character of these favored sitters, their social position or scientific standing, was such that their accounts of Home's phenomena could not be dismissed with a laugh.

One's own view of nature and the supernatural will inevitably color any judgment delivered on Home and the marvels reputed to have taken place at his seances. The accounts of his phenomena may be looked upon as authentic by a supernaturalist, while a rationalist will be inclined to discount these tales and to characterize Home as a wonderfully clever adventurer. Taking for granted, however, the rationalistic interpretation of nature, can we go over the accounts of Home's exploits and reconstruct an approximation to the real scene in a seance? Serviceable material for this is none too plentiful, but we can read between the lines in the enthusiastic stories of Home's admirers, while side statements here and there give some inkling of the actual facts.

First of all, we may note that the social and intellectual status of those whom Home admitted to his circles by no means militated against trickery. Among people of culture and refinement the elements of good faith are taken for granted in social intercourse, and Home would have had far more to dread from the prying curiosity of a vulgar boor than from the decorous precautions against decep-

tion taken by an aristocratic host. We note, in fact, that Sir David Brewster and Lord Brougham, when asked by Home to search him before a seance declined to do so, that on other occasions the searcher merely put his hand into each of Home's pockets, that one witness tells us he searched the medium "as far as was compatible with decency," and that Dr. Wilkinson contented himself with watching his guest walk up the path to his house, believing that Home's manner of walking precluded the presence upon his person of "any machinery or apparatus of any kind whatever."

Obviously there might be found, even in the best society, persons whose curiosity outran their courtesy, but Home had means of guarding against this menace. The members of his circles were carefully selected, and it was not uncommon for several successive seances to be held before any phenomena of consequence took place. So we may presume that a sitter was merely taken on trial and that the sight of manifestations vouchsafed him varied in the measure that he showed himself to be not too prying an investigator. This view would be confirmed by a failure to produce results when no weeding-out of the observers was possible, and, in fact, we know that blank seances were not infrequent, and that when in 1869 the London Dialectical Society endeavored to investigate Home's phenomena by having him hold sittings with a committee containing some of the most incredulous members of the society (Bradlaugh among others), the result of four successive seances did not extend beyond slight rappings and movements of the table, further seances being precluded by the illness of Home.

Taking further precautions against inconvenient curiosity, Home, we find, would sometimes actually admonish the sitters not to pay too much attention to the manifestation that was being produced for their benefit. When about to be levitated he would say: "My chair is moving, I am off the ground. Don't notice me; talk of something else." And a sitter records that when he put out his hand, and touched (as he thought) the levitated medium, he was told: "Don't touch me or I shall come down." This prohibition would not seem consistent with the fact that at another seance a sitter could not merely touch Home but even pull off his boots, without the medium being brought down from his suspension in mid-air. Some accounts of Home's levitations make it quite clear that in these particular cases his movement toward the ceiling was known, not by observation, but by the statement of the medium himself as to what was taking place in the darkness. The only confirmation afforded was the passage of a vague shadow before

the open window, and the varying sound of Home's voice, which seemed to come from different distances and directions. Home, to be sure, claims that he never held "dark seances," the light being at its worst dim, but darkness would appear to be a good description of a "dimness" in which the medium was not visible.

Failure to discriminate between what is observed to take place and what a medium says is happening, and inability to distinguish between what is directly observed and what is inferred from observation will be admitted to vitiate the testimony of any witness. Yet these sources of error, particularly the last, are by no means uncommon, in ordinary life as well as at spiritualistic seances. To take merely one familiar case, conjuring, which is liable to deceive us all, is largely the art of making the spectators imagine they see what really they do not see, and preventing them from seeing what is actually before their eyes. We would have more confidence in the witnesses of Home's seances if they had explicitly recognized the distinction, and shown some signs of drawing it in their reports. We find quite the contrary: the lack of the details most relevant in this connection showing that consideration of this possible source of error had never entered their heads. Again and again will a witness state that deception "was impossible" or that he "knew he was not deceived," without giving any reason for this positiveness, but with an emphasis that defeats its own purpose. For the implication is that it is easy to know whether one is or is not deceived, and to take this stand is really an indication of gullibility.

Deception by sleight of hand and mechanical tricks, combined with common fallacies of observation on the part of the audience and the tendency of witnesses to gross exaggeration—will this account for Home's wonders? We would certainly not so contend. For the higher manifestations—materialized hands that could be clasped and melted away in the grasp, fire ordeals in which not only Home but also sitters took part—for these the every-day methods of the commonplace medium would not suffice. We must bear in mind that the facilities of the professional medium holding seances in his own rooms were lacking to Home, who could not have brought very elaborate paraphernalia into the houses of his hosts. The single alternative to admitting Home's claims is to hold that in certain cases he was able to put sitters in an abnormal state, where suggestion ruled their minds, and where they saw and heard and felt precisely what Home pleased to tell them was taking place. And the circumstances under which the higher manifestations occurred tend to confirm this view. They did not occur in the beginning of

a seance, the sitters being first treated to an hour or two of rappings and other minor manifestations. Given a circle of sufficiently susceptible sitters (and the higher manifestations were not for the common herd), it was in Home's power to so arrange his preliminary work as to bring about a mental state verging on hypnosis. This is no far-fetched supposition; the hypnotic state may be induced by a continued concentration of the gaze on an object so placed that the muscles of the eyelids undergo severe strain while it is kept in view, and with sufficiently susceptible subjects a sudden sensation, such as a flash of light in a dark room, the sound of a gong, the ring of a bell or even the vibration of a tuning-fork may bring about hypnosis. Protracted exposure to the odor of musk has also been found effective with the more susceptible, and it is significant that at Home's seances the spirits frequently favored the sitters with the scent of sweet perfumes.

Beginning with rappings, ringing of bells and other trivial phenomena Home could soon bring a picked group of sitters to the point where they were awaiting with bated breath what the spirits would do next, and it would be easy to produce in each of the party a fixed gaze and a highly concentrated attention on whatever object the medium cared to designate. The results obtained would doubtless vary: one sitter might be only very slightly affected, another might undergo a complete hypnosis. To the latter Home's most extreme suggestions would have all the reality of actual happenings, while the mind of the former would not be so easily led. We know that Home gave intimations of what was to be seen, and that these did not always lead to the desired result. Thus at one seance Count Alexis Tolstoi was told that Home and Mrs. Home "constantly saw a star on one of the chairs," but he himself was unable to see it. And we know also that some sitters perceived manifestations that others could not perceive. Count Tolstoi tells us that at another seance Lord Clarence Paget "feeling his knee clasped wished me to touch the hand that was holding it; and when I placed my hand on his knee without finding anything, he still felt beside my hand, another that was touching his." And both Lord Dunraven and Sir William Crookes repeatedly record cases in which apparitions were not visible to all the persons present.

If complete hypnosis were produced Home could not only go as far as he liked, with the full assurance that whatever he chose to impress upon the mind of the sitter would be retained in the memory of the latter as an actual occurrence, but it would even be possible to make the subject see and hear at a future time, away

from the medium, whatever Home had suggested should be seen and heard. The suggestion would be obeyed without there remaining any recollection that it had been made. And this may explain the fact that a sitter sometimes experienced manifestations in his own rooms after returning from a seance, and the next morning would receive a letter from Home giving an accurate account of these phenomena. But such perfect control over a sitter was probably very rare. It is noteworthy that great care had to be taken to avoid interrupting a higher manifestation, or, in other words, distracting the attention of the enthralled sitters from Home's suggestions. Crookes records a case in which, while Home was in full view, a phantom form came from the corner of the room, took up an accordion, and then glided about the room playing it, only to vanish when a frightened lady in the audience gave a slight cry. Similarly when, in a seance at Nice, Home was undergoing a fearful fire ordeal which left his hands and face unscathed, and the Count de Komar called out in fright "Daniel! Daniel!" the performance was stopped, Home reproaching the Count for his want of faith, and saying "Now we can do no more."

Explaining away the phenomena of the mediums will naturally not convince the spiritualist. He may indeed ask with some show of reason why we should seek to explain them away, instead of accepting these "manifestations at their face value as we do the marvels of modern science?" Surely, the alleged spiritualistic phenomena are no more wonderful than what we accept as scientific matter of fact, and if we accredit the one on the testimony of scientists why should we not likewise accept the other when numerous witnesses, including such men of science as Crookes and Lodge, here too give their testimony?

The answer to this question is that in rejecting the accounts of spirit manifestations we are not rejecting the marvelous as such, but are acting upon a principle which can and often does lead to the rejection of very commonplace statements made by scientific investigators. It is a great mistake to suppose that the touchstone for a scientific fact is the testimony of eminent authorities to having observed it: in modern science there are no Aristotles of observation whose *ipse dixit* must be accepted as conclusive. Any alleged fact must stand the test of repeated investigation, and the statement that a specified phenomenon has been observed is invalidated if subsequent workers in the same field cannot obtain like results.

Now the phenomena of spiritualism obviously do not stand this test. Manifested fitfully and to but a favored few, they elude

systematic investigation. The searching inquisition of too skeptical an inquirer leads either to the detection of fraud or to the subsidence of the manifestations. More amenable to examination is the subject of deception and illusion, and turning here we find results produced that absolutely duplicate many of the so-called spirit manifestations, and enable us to understand the rest when we discount the inevitable inaccuracy in the testimony of witnesses.

Spiritualists admit the prevalence of fraud, and take the stand that even the best mediums are prone to intermingle spurious phenomena with the genuine. Notwithstanding this, they accept at par what they regard as the residuum of true spirit manifestations. And perhaps, stripped of minor matters of dispute, the controversy between believers and unbelievers may be narrowed down to an assertion sometimes put forth by spiritualists. This is that the detection of fraud or illusion in ninety-nine cases is no presumption that detection is also present in the hundredth case, where a like result has been produced but no deception detected. We might well call this the Primary Postulate—the Fundamental Error—of spiritualism, and upon it the spiritualists and their opponents must agree to disagree.

INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY AND LITERARY STYLE.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

ONE'S attitude toward free speech or toward popular or established ideas and institutions is, I believe, always a matter of temperament. So in the field of religious discussion we have men like J. W. Gott of England and Michael X. Mockus of America, who are compelled to come in frequent conflict with the blasphemy laws, largely because of their inability (unwillingness) to conform their public discussions to the amenities customary in the drawing-room. These temperaments, in imitation of the absolute, have their counterpart among industrial agitators, judges and millionaires. My own judgment is that they would all be more efficient in enlarging human understanding if they were more considerate of the feelings of others. In the absence of such considerateness their function is limited to furnishing intellectualizations and rationalizations to those whose emotional conflicts leave them in need of such props. When these intense and inefficient "propagandists for evil" come before a judge who is a victim of similar emotional conflicts, then their very inefficiency in promoting "evil" is made the excuse for a more severe punishment, and for excluding them from the beneficence of statutory or constitutional toleration.

Sir Robert Le Estrange, once chief censor of England, in his refutation of Richard Baxter says: "They [the Dissenters] labor to promote the cause by scandalous and rank invectives, against the Church, and stirring-up of tumults to reform it: by a loud pharisaical ostentation of their own holiness, and a sour churlish censure of all others: by sharp and sawcy aspersions upon the Royal party and by reflections yet more bitter and audacious upon his Sacred Majesty and his murdered father....A tumult for religion is within one step of rebellion."[1] Obedience to the King

[1] In the introduction to *Interest Mistaken or, the Holy Cheat,* 3d impression, London, 1662. (Pages not numbered.)

was a divine precept. It is just for such impatient men as Baxter, and for the protection of such speakers as those above described that the free-speech issue was fought out, both for the religious and the governmental heretic.[2] It is for the very purpose of suppressing the physical violence, which the common law directed against the irritation of mere verbal violence from the impatient critics, that free-speech guaranties were written into our American constitutions. This liberal attitude was based upon the sound psychologic doctrine that the relief of an emotional repression through an explosion in passionate words is the best way of precluding a would-be speaker from resorting to physical violence.[3] The better remedy against overt acts of violence from the audience is rightly believed to consist in exhibiting to it a better argument, expressive of a better temper, and the product of a more mature understanding.

Feudal-minded judges whose illiberal temperament is perhaps the product of much thwarted and repressed passion, tell us from their seats of judicature and learning that intellectual liberty consists in the right to discuss anything with impunity so long as the amenities of polite discourse are preserved by the absence of scurrility, abuse, invective and the like. In other words, the judge's vanity must be protected by criticizing his views with abjectly humble poses.

In a blasphemy case Lord Denham put it thus: "Discussions on a subject, even the most sacred, might be tolerated when they were conducted in a fair spirit. But when appeals were made not to reason but to the bad feeling of human nature, or where ridicule or invective were had recourse to, it could not be considered discussion."[4] In like manner do even our own unconscious aristocrats justify their feudal-mindedness, by exhibiting the same irritable temperament as those who are accused of transcending the limits of conventional intellectual hospitality. It is in the very likeness of their autocratic dispositions that we find the true explanation

[2] Cf. the writer's *Constitutional Free Speech Defined and Defended*, especially Chaps. 20-21; also: *Free Speech for Radicals*, enlarged edition, especially Chap. 8.

[3] For confirming quotations see *Free Speech for Radicals*, pp. 21-22.

[4] *A Full Report of the Trial of Henry Hetherington on an Indictment for Blasphemy*, 1840, p. 22. See also: U. S. v. Harman 45 Fed. Rep. 415-16, 423. Sir Fitzjames Stephens, *Digest of the Criminal Law*, p. 97. For contrary view, viz., that an unoffending style enhances "evil," see: U. S. v. Smith 45 Fed. Rep. 477. For an elaborate discussion see Peter Bayle, *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, 2d ed. His treatise "An Explanation Concerning Obscenities" is republished in the writer's *Free Press Anthology*, pp. 114-148.

for the very hearty hostility toward each other, which may be at times exhibited between such persons as the Ex-Kaiser, William Hohenzollern, the Anarchist Emma Goldman and the late tempestuous Theodore Roosevelt.[5] It is the conflict of absolutes, in an impatient contest for power and authority.

The opponents of censorship held a different view from that of Lord Denham. In America they found a voice in Dr. Benjamin Rush who held intellectual intercommunication was needed for "conveying *heat and light* to every individual in the Federal Commonwealth."[6] Likewise the Continental Congress declared for freedom of the press, "whereby oppressive officials are *shamed or intimidated* into more honorable or just modes of conducting affairs."[7] These and other declarations like them, from Roger Williams, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson,[8] negative the idea that constitutional mental liberty was to depend upon politeness of style.

No one who ever made a fight for the *unabridged* intellectual liberty guaranteed by our constitutions ever dreamed of creating a stylists' aristocracy. Such men conceived of intellectual liberty as a general human "right," not a special privilege for the few who had attained some approved degree of rhetorical or oratorical culture. The cultured and culturined defenders of things as they are have always enjoyed unlimited intellectual liberty. The inherent and inalienable human "rights" sought to be protected by our constitutions did not take account of the ruffles and frills by which some discourses are adorned. If constitutional free speech is recognized as a "human right," then every human must have an equal "right" to express his own ideas, in his own way, with his own vocabulary, in the service of his own temperament. If equality of human "right" in relation to religious, political or economic opinion is to be observed, then the crudest artisan has the same "right" to portray his ignorant opinions, in his own ill-tempered fashion, as has the cultured priest to express a contrary opinion in a more efficient manner. The more educated and refined defenders and beneficiaries of things as they are, have enough advantage in their superior scholarship, without being given the aid of the policeman, or the power of a feudal-minded judge. Those who can, by

[5] For a composite psychologic picture of the first and last, see the writer's "Psychology of an Ex-Kaiser," in the New York *Call*, June 15, 1919.

[6] Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, p. 235.

[7] *Journal of Continental Congress*, Vol. I, p. 108, edition of 1904.

[8] Cf. *Constitutional Free Speech, Defined and Defended*, Chaps. 20-21; also *Free Speech for Radicals*, enlarged ed., pp. 108-111..

an orator's or author's bad taste, be so influenced that they are blind to the larger problems of equality in human "constitutional rights," may be led to define liberty and equality, in relation to intellect, to consist in protecting the standpatter's "right" to attack atheists and agnostics, pacifists and industrial heretics or sex-reformers, with all the scurrility, invective and abuse that he can command, while the proponent of the unpopular idea may attack the orthodox opinions only according to the most polite and approved-of parlor etiquette, used with the humble prostration of intellect.

However, no friend of equal liberty, such as our constitutions were designed to guarantee, can give his approval to such an interpretation of intellectual liberty. Only those who forget the requirement of equality in liberty and are seeking a plausible excuse for protecting and perpetuating "spiritual tyranny" and general reaction will ever define our constitutional guaranties as do our modern courts, in following the precedent of the Star Chamber court. It is only on rare occasions that judges have that democratic temperament which make possible the calm acceptance of the more mature views of Roger Williams, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson.

It is related of the Duke of Guise, an ardent Romanist, that during the siege of Rouen a Protestant was brought to him who confessed a design upon his life. The Duke dismissed him thus: "Get thee gone. If thy religion commands thee to assassinate those who never offended thee, mine will have me give thee thy life, though I may justly deprive thee of it. Judge of the two religions which is the best."[9] Catholics like the Duke of Guise, and Protestants like Roger Williams seldom find the road to the legislative hall or to the judicial bench. Let us hope that the time will come when judges, legislators and policemen, will be as tolerant of opposition and as patient over verbal resistance as they expect the industrial and religious heretics to be over that which is to them a painful and material affliction.

[9] Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, 2d ed., III, 289.

THE COSMIC TRANSMUTATIONS.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

MYTHIC transmutations or changes of substances or objects in nature or form, or both, are referable primarily to the natural phenomena of change everywhere and always in evidence, not only in the animal and vegetable kingdoms of the earth, but also in the heaven as connected with day and night, sunrise and sunset, clear and clouded skies, etc. Transmutation in form (and generally also in nature) is metamorphosis, transformation, or transfiguration, as in the life history of insects, or rather of the true *insecta* of naturalists; while transmutation in the nature of a substance in itself formless is transubstantiation, as in natural or artificial chemical processes—whence such mythic transubstantiations as water to wine, and the Eucharistic bread and wine to the flesh and blood of Jesus in the Roman Catholic doctrine.

Words for "bread" are sometimes employed for all solid foods that are transmuted into the flesh or bodies of men, while water or (red) wine is conceived to be changed into blood. Wine is often called the "blood of grapes" or the "blood of the grape," as in the Old Testament (Gen. xlix. 11; Deut. xxxii. 14, etc.); and the juice of the grape is naturally conceived as having been transmuted from water by the heat of the sun, which is also the chief factor in the fermentation of wine. As a mythic variant of blood, the cosmic wine belongs to the red sky of sunrise and sunset, especially to the latter as connected with such drunken solar figures as Dionysus, Silenus and Noah (see previous articles of this series, on "The Cosmic Hemorrhage" and "The Cosmic Madness"). But this wine appears to belong to the rising sun in Gen. xlix. 10-12, where it is generally, even if erroneously, supposed that we have a certain Shiloh (as if "Peace-bringer") who is to come in the future—"and unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be (Sept., 'he is the expectation of nations')....he washeth his garments in wine, and

his raiment in blood of grapes; his eyes shall be red with wine (Sept., 'more cheering than wine'), and his teeth white with (=as) milk (Sept., 'whiter than milk')." This Shiloh (whether or not in the Hebrew text), was recognized as the Messiah by both Jews and Christians; whence doubtless came the concept of Jesus as a "wine-drinker" who is contrasted with John the Baptist as an abstainer (Matt. xi. 18, 19; Luke vii. 33, 34). Justin Martyr supposes that the Old Testament text signifies that Jesus "would wash those that believe in Him in His own blood....That the Scripture mentions the blood of the grape, has been evidently designed....For as God, and not man, has produced the blood of the grape, so also (the Scripture) has predicted that the blood of Christ would not be of the seed of man, but of the power of God" (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, LIV).

In the Egyptian legend of Horus of Edfu, that god smites the enemies of Ra, and the latter says to the former: "'Thou makest the water of Edfu (red with blood) like grapes, and thy heart is rejoiced thereat.' Hence the water of Edfu is called (the water of grapes)" (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 220). In the Destruction of Mankind, the deluge is poured out from seven thousand jars of human blood, representing the red color of the Nile waters shortly after the beginning of the inundation (*Records of the Past*, VI, pp. 105-112). In the *Rigveda* it is said of the miracle-working Aswins: "You filled, from the hoof of your vigorous steed, as if from a cask, a hundred jars of wine" (I, 116, 7—as probably suggested by the solar horse in the red sky of the morning or evening). On the Egyptian Obelisk of the Lateran we read: "The King Ra-Men Kheper (Thothmes III), the son of the sun, like the sun immortal, gives wine" (*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 13). Dionysus was identified with the sun by the Eleans (*Etymolog. Mag.*, s. v. Dionysus) as by others (see Servius *ad Virg. Georg.*, I, 5; Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.*, III, 33), and Pausanias says: "No god is more revered by the Eleans than Dionysus, and they say that he attends their festival of the Thyia. The place where they hold the festival called Thyia is about eight furlongs from the city (Thyia in Elis). Three empty kettles are taken into a building and deposited there by the priests in the presence of the citizens and of any strangers who may happen to be staying in the country. On the doors of the building the priests, and all who choose to do so, put their seals. Next day they are free to examine the seals, and on entering the building they find the kettles full of wine" (VI, 26, 1—substantially the same account being given by Pseudo-Aristotle, *Mirab. auscult.*, 123 [134], and by Athenæus from Theopompus of

Chian, *Deipnos.*, I, 61). According to Pausanias (*loc. cit.*), "The people of Andros also say that every other year, at their festival of Dionysus, wine flows of itself from the sanctuary. If these stories are to be trusted, one might by the same token believe what the Ethiopians above Syene say about the Table of the Sun" (cf. Herodotus, III, 18). Pliny tells us on the authority of Mucianus that the prodigy at Andros occurred every year, on the 5th of January; that the water flowing from a fountain in the temple tasted like wine during the seven days of the annual festival of Dionysus, but if taken out of sight of the temple it again tasted like water (*H. N.*, XXXI, 13).

There is no Old Testament story of transmutation of water to wine; but we have mythic variants in the changing of the waters of Egypt to blood by Moses, and in his sweetening of the bitter waters of Mara (=Bitter) by casting a tree into them (Ex. xv. 23-25). Elisha permanently sweetened a brackish spring at Jericho by casting salt into it (2 Kings ii. 18-22; the saltwater of the harbor of Syracuse became sweet for one day when Dionysius the Tyrant was expelled from his kingdom (Pliny, *H. N.*, II, 104), and the water of the Nile at one time had the taste of honey for eleven days, according to Manetho (Brugsch, *Hist. Eg.*, I, p. 76). In a Christian legend of Egypt, the fountain of Heliopolis had always been salt until the arrival of the infant Jesus and his parents, when it miraculously became a source of sweet water that cured all the sick who drank of it (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 296).

THE MARRIAGE-FEAST OF CANA.

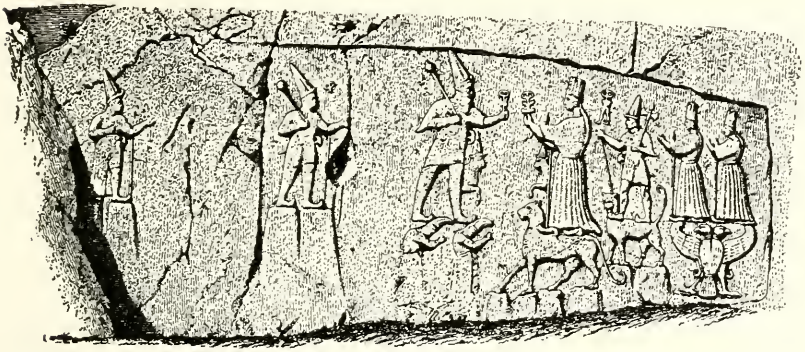
Ivory in the cathedral at Ravenna, 5th-7th cent. (From F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christl. Kunst*, I, 156.)

The Gospel miracle of turning water into wine is found only in John and appears to be a sort of companion piece to the multiplication of the loaves (and fishes); the author of the Fourth Gospel probably having in mind that Jesus designated bread and wine as symbols of his body and blood, according to the Synoptic accounts of the Last Supper (Mark xiv. 22-24; Matt. xxvi. 26-28; Luke xxii. 19, 20). In the Apocryphal *Acts of John* (8), Jesus at one time turned stones to bread, as doubtless suggested by what the Devil says

to him in Matt. iv. 3—"If thou art the son of God, speak that these stones may become loaves"; and in the *Revelation of Esdras* the Antichrist is declared to have said, "I am the Son of God, who made stones bread, and water, wine."

The miraculous transmutation in the Gospel of John (ii. 1-11) is related as follows: "And on the third day (apparently from the calling of the first disciples at the close of the preceding chapter) a marriage took place in Cana of Galilee (doubtless at night), and the mother of Jesus was there; and Jesus also was invited, and his disciples, to the marriage. And being deficient of wine, the mother of Jesus says to him, Wine they have not. Jesus says to her, What to me and to thee, woman (A. V., 'Woman, what have I to do with thee')? Mine hour has not yet come. Says his mother to the servants, Whatever he may say to you, do. And there were six water-jars of stone standing according to the purification of the Jews, each holding two or three metretæ (A. V., 'firkins'). Says Jesus to them (the servants), Fill the water-jars with water. And they filled them to the brim. And he says to them, Draw out now and carry (some of the contents) to the master of the feast. And they carried it. But when the master of the feast had tasted the water that had become wine, and knew not whence it is—but the servants knew who had drawn the water—the master of the feast calls the bridegroom and says to him, Every man first sets on the good wine, and when they (the guests) may have drunk freely, then the inferior: thou hast kept the good wine until now. This beginning of the signs (or 'miracles') Jesus did in Cana of Galilee, and manifested his glory; and his disciples believed on him." This is the first miracle of Jesus, according to John, just as the changing of the waters to blood was the first plague inflicted upon the Egyptians as one of the miracles of Moses. But the Johannine marriage-feast appears to have been recognized as a variant of the great feast of Rabbinical tradition, which is to inaugurate the coming of the Messiah, and at which he shall drink wine made from the grapes that grew in Paradise during the six days of creation and were since preserved in Adam's cave (Buxdorf, *Synod. Jud.*, p. 460). The *Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king*, a Chinese life of Gautama Buddha, relates that this last Buddha declared that when one of his predecessors attended a wedding in the city of Jambunada, he not only kept the foods and drinks miraculously undiminished during the feast, but caused the host's uninvited guests to come and partake of it, even as the host had silently wished (according to Lillie, *Buddhism in Christianity*, pp. 169, 170; *Popular Life of Buddha*, pp. 305, 306).

The mythic marriage is primarily that of the sun (see Phædrus, I, *fab.* 6), either with the earth or the moon—whence, doubtless, the Athenians at one time celebrated marriages at the new moon (when she was in conjunction with the sun—Proclus *ad Hesiod. Oper.*, 782). Practically nothing is related of the Johannine bridegroom, and there is no reference to the bride; but in the mythic view the bridegroom is a mere variant of Jesus (the figurative "bridegroom" of John iii. 29, cf. Mark ii. 19, 20, etc.), while his mother and the bride are duplications of wider variation. Thus the Virgin Mary is often called the Rose of Sharon and Lily of Israel; epithets from Canticles ii, where the bride is "a rose of Sharon and a lily of the valleys," who is brought by the bridegroom to "the banqueting-house"—literally "the house of wine," as in the Septuagint. The



BEL-MARDUK AND ISHTAR (ASTARTE).

Phrygian basrelief from Boghaz-Köi, supposed to represent the marriage of the solar god and the lunar goddess. (From Carus, *The Bride of Christ*, page 8.)

Greek Hebe (= Youth), who fills the cups of the Olympian gods with nectar (for wine—Homer, *Il.*, IV, 2), is married to the solar Heracles after his ascent to Olympus (*Od.*, XI, 603; Hesiod, *Theog.*, 950). In an ancient Greek representation of this marriage (see frontispiece, upper half), the winged Eros (Love) hovers between the seated Hebe and the standing Heracles; on their right are Zeus and Hera, while on their left are Aphrodite and two female attendants with the winged Himeros (Desire) between them (the lower half of the picture does not relate to the subject of this article).

In all probability the Johannine story had its primary suggestion in some version of the Dionysiac legend of the transmutation of water to wine. The Dionysia were primarily vintage festivals in

honor of Dionysus as the god of wine, and they were always celebrated with the drinking of wine, drunkenness, and revelry — in which respect they were much like marriage-feasts. The Attic festivals of Dionysus were four in number; the "lesser Dionysia" in the month Poseidon (corresponding nearly to our December); the Lenæa = Of the Wine-Press, in Gamelion = Of Marriages (our January, nearly, and the Ionian Lenæon); the Anthesteria = Flowering, in Anthesterion (our February, nearly), and the "great Dionysia" in Elaphebolion = Of the Deer-Hunter, Artemis (our March, nearly—see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,* s. v. "Dionysia"). The "great Dionysia" belong to about the

MARRIAGE OF DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE.

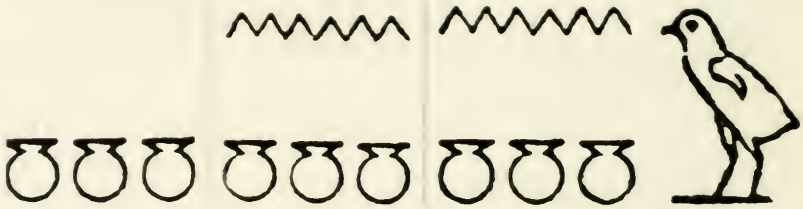
Picture on a Perugian amphora. (From A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums,* I, p. 441.)

time of the spring equinox, and spring is nature's marriage season. The spring equinox was the time for marriage of men and women in ancient Persia (Strabo, XV, 17), and it is generally believed that the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne was enacted in Crete every spring—other mythic marriages celebrated in the same season being those of Adonis and Aphrodite at Alexandria, of Siva and Parvati in India, and of the King and Queen of the May in Europe (see Frazer, *Golden Bough,* II, pp. 108, 229). The festival of the "great Dionysia" corresponds roughly to the Passover as the great spring festival of the Jews; but John places the marriage at Cana some little time before the Passover in Nisan (ii. 12, 13), probably in

the preceding month Adar, answering approximately to the Greek Anthesterion, in which the Athenians celebrated the annual marriage of Dionysus and the woman (otherwise Ariadne) who acted the part of his queen (Demosthen., *Neaer.*, 78; Aristot., *Constit.*, III, 5). And as the Anthesteria were of three days' duration, there is a possibility that John's "on the third day," when the wine was exhausted, originally belonged to the last day of the Anthesteria. But a Jewish marriage-feast generally continued for seven days (Gen. xxix. 27; Judges xiv. 12, 17), and the Dionysiac festival at Andros, at which water became wine, also continued for seven days, from the 5th to the 11th of January (according to Pliny, as above cited). The Roman January answers approximately to the Attic Gamelion, the month "Of Marriages," with its Dionysiac festival of the Lenæa = Of the Wine-Press; Aristotle speaks of winter as the most auspicious season for marriages (*Polit.*, VII, 15), and we find the miracle at Cana finally assigned to the same day as the Epiphany or Manifestation of Christ at his baptism, Jan. 6 (see Epiphanius, *Adv. Haeres.*, II, 1, 29, etc.).

The Johannine six water-jars are generally supposed to have been for the washing of hands before and after meals (cf. Mark vii. 2-5; Matt. xv. 2); but it cannot be confirmed that this number of vessels was ever employed by the Jews for such a purification or for any other purpose. In the mythical view the Johannine jars represent the sources of the rain that is transmuted to grape juice and wine, and in all probability they were derived from the nature mythos in which Dionysus was the solar transmuter. According to Chrysostom, He who performed the miracle at Cana is the same who annually changes the rain into wine, through the vine (*Hom. in Ioan.*, XXI). As the miracle belongs to the spring (apparently not very long before the Passover, according to John), it is quite probable that the primary suggestion for the six jars is to be sought in the celestial Hyades (= Rainy), sometimes reckoned as six. It is true that the "rainy Hyades," together with the Pleiades (both in Taurus), "are the protagonistic stars of the second month" of spring (see Brown, *Primitive Constellations,* I, p. 289), to which month belong the Palestinian "latter rains"; whence it follows that the Johannine chronology is not in strict accordance with the concept of the six jars as the sources of the "latter rains." It is also true that seven stars are generally recognized in the Hyades group, as in that of the Pleiades; but nevertheless the seven of both groups were sometimes reduced to six. Thus according to Hyginus, six of the seven Hyades as terrestrial nymphs fled with the infant

Dionysus when Lycurgus threatened him, wherefore in gratitude the god placed them among the stars, making a group of six (*Poet. Ast.*, II, 21); and according to Pherecydes the Logographer, these six nymphs were the nurses of Dionysus on earth (Apollod., III, 4, 3). Some derived the word Hyades (Ὑάδες) from Hyes (Ὑης), a surname of Dionysus, as also of Zeus (Hesych., s. v. Hyes); while others referred it to the V-shaped figure of the stellar group. Thus Hellanicus of Mytilene says that the Hyades were so called from the Greek letter υ, "or because at their rising and setting Zeus rains" (*Frag.*, LVI), and some of the Latins called the group "the Roman V" (Allen, *Star Names*, p. 388). The Greek υ was the Pythagorean symbol of life, otherwise represented by the numeral six; while the Roman letter V corresponds to the Hebrew and Arabic Vav, with the numerical value of 6 and the general shape of the Babylonian single wedge which represents 6 as a unit, as well



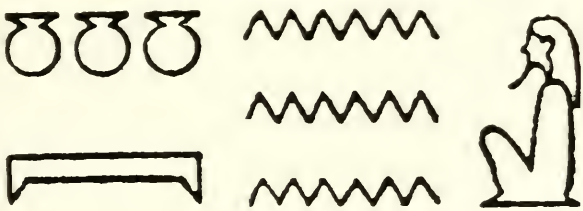
Unas, 199. Unas, 399. Teta, 78.

OLD HIEROGLYPHIC FORMS OF THE NAME NU.
(From Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, p. 283.)

as 1. But as the author of John probably places the Cana miracle in Adar, the twelfth Jewish month, whereas the rainy season of the Hyades belongs to the second month, Ijar or Zif, it is entirely probable that the six water-jars were referred in a secondary view to the six months' rainy season of Palestine, October to March inclusive—the remaining six months of the year being practically without rain. Roughly speaking, the Palestinian year is thus divided into a winter of rain and a summer of clear weather, with the production of grapes belonging to the latter season. In one view, therefore, the Johannine jars may well have been taken for multiple variants of the Jar of Aquarius as the source of the midwinter rains of Western Asia; this Jar being duplicated in the opposite sign, Leo, as the constellated Crater or water-jar (Hydria) from which the Nile inundation was sometimes conceived to be poured out, and which Manilius calls the Bowl of Bacchus (= Dionysus—see Allen,

Star Names, p. 183). The Nile god has one, two, or three water-jars (Horapollo stating of the three that one is for the soil, one for the ocean, and one for the rains—*Hieroglyph.*, I, 21); while Nu, the Egyptian name of the god of the heaven as an upper sea, was originally written with three such jars, or the three jars with the sign for water; the final form being the three jars (for the pronunciation) together with the signs for the heaven, water and a god (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 283). In rainless Egypt the three jars of Nu were conceived as the sources of the Nile; and they appear to be represented by the three empty kettles miraculously filled with wine at the Elean festival of the Thyia attended by Dionysus (see above).

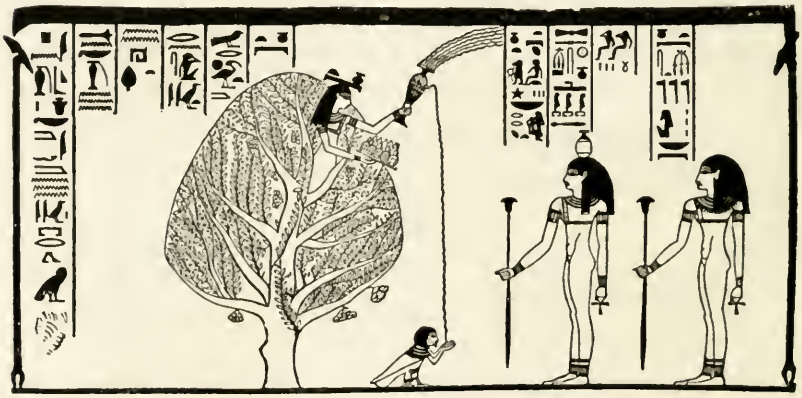
In connection with the marriage at Cana, there can be little doubt that six, as the number of the jars, was also recognized as the number of marriage, procreation, and creation, as it was in the mystico-mathematical system of the Pythagoreans. Clement of Alexandria says that he thinks that "the Pythagoreans reckon six



FINAL HIEROGLYPHIC FORM OF THE NAME NU.
(From Budge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 283.)

the perfect number, from the creation of the universe (in six days), according to the prophet (Moses, in Gen. i); and (they) call it Meseuthys (= Between the even ones) and Marriage, from its being the middle of the even numbers, that is, of ten and two.... And as marriage generates from male and female, so six is generated from the odd number three, which is called the masculine number, and the even number two, which is considered the feminine. For twice three are six....also man is said to have been made on the sixth day" (*Strom.*, VI, 16). Philo Judæus had previously made much of the number six—as the number of creation and of the day on which man was created—as the first perfect number (the second being ten)—as connected in principle with unity (it was a basic number or unit in Babylonian arithmetic)—as both odd and even—and as sometimes called "harmony and matrimony" (*Quaest. in Gen.*, I, 91; II, 32, 45, 56; III, 49); and he also says that it is both male and female, being the multiple of the first odd or male num-

ber, three, and the first even or female number, two—"whence it was fitting that the universe was created in six days"(*De Mundi Opific.*, 3). Six was considered the perfect number as being the sum of its divisors, one, two, and three (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XI, 30); and according to Marcus the Heresiarch, it possesses the power of production and regeneration, whence the "dispensation of suffering" (i.e., the Crucifixion) occurred on the sixth day and in the sixth hour (Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, VI, 42). Six was called "Aphrodite the mother" by the Pythagoreans, who recognized it as the symbol of life (Iamblichus, *Theolog. Arithm.*, 10); while Proclus affirms that it is allied to "soul" (*in Tim.*, III). The soul as the life principle was sometimes associated with the blood; again,



NUT POURING THE WATER OF LIFE ON THE SOUL OF THE DECEASED IN THE FORM OF A BIRD.

Isis and Nephthys witnessing. (From Lenormant, *Histoire de l'Orient*, III, p. 202.)

with the breath (= spirit); and the Chinese have the "Six Breaths," which produce all things in silence, and the "Six of Earth" (probably as a cube), in contradistinction to "Heaven's One" (Kidd, *China*, p. 292). The dove is the bird of Aphrodite, and six doves are sometimes figured breathing the soul into the infant Jesus (Didron, *Christ. Iconog.*, p. 125). The Greeks identified their Aphrodite (the Roman Venus) with the Egyptian Hathor (Het-hert = the House above) who originally belonged to the eastern heaven; but as she was finally assimilated to Nut (the feminine counterpart of Nu) as a figure of the whole heaven (see Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 428), she is sometimes represented in the cosmic sycamore tree, pouring the "water of life" from the celestial jar upon the deceased, thus

reviving him for his resurrection and ascension into the celestial regions. She is recognized as a female counterpart of Ra, the sun (*ibid.*, p. 429); and thus, if the marriage at Cana be referred to Egyptian mythology, the bride and bridegroom would represent Hathor and Ra. Hathor was associated with the rise of the Nile at the summer solstice; and as the red color of the river shortly after its rise was sometimes attributed to blood, in all probability the "water of life" poured out by Hathor (or Nut) was conceived to be transmuted to blood for the revivified deceased. Simon Magus

HEBE POURING NECTAR FOR THE EXHAUSTED HERACLES.
Vase painting. (From Inghirami, *Monumenti Etrusche,* Pl. XXXVI.)

declared that he had changed air (= breath or spirit) into water, then the water into blood, and finally solidified the blood into flesh, forming a new human being (*Clementine Recognitions,* II, 15). And it may well have been conceived that the wine transmuted from water at the Cana marriage would be changed to blood for the new human being who would spring from that marriage. In the accompanying Greek representation, Hebe pours a cup of nectar for Heracles, her husband to be, who has just ascended to Olympus in

an exhausted condition—perhaps as suggested by the Egyptian concept of Nut or Hathor with the revivifying "water of life."

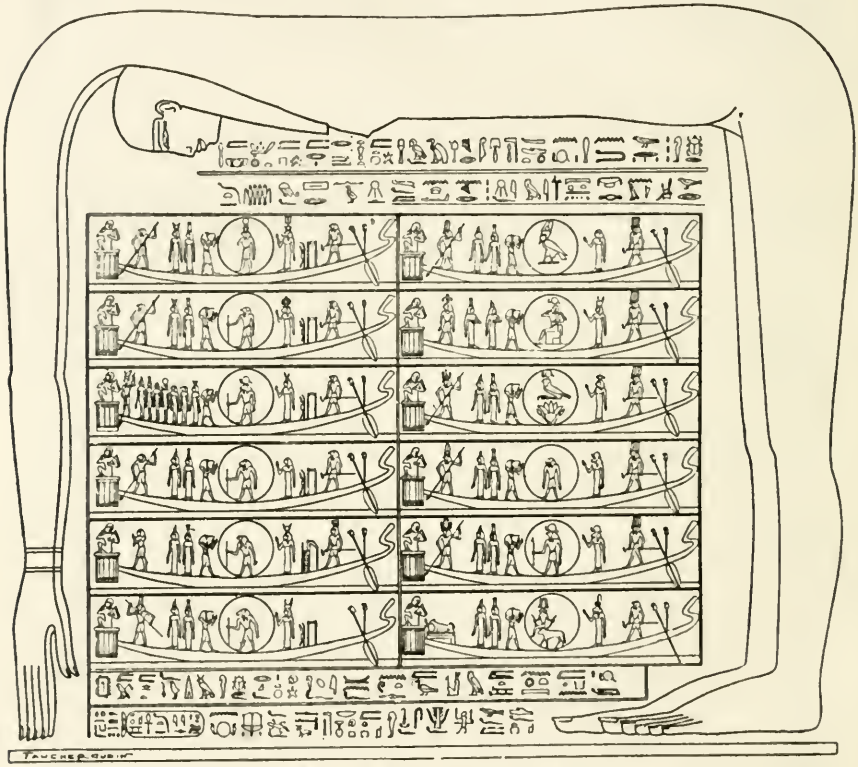
Stories of miracles suggested by the natural transmutations or transformations in the vegetable kingdom are numerous and various. In the Homeric hymn entitled "Dionysus and the Pirates," the god confounds the pirates with wondrous deeds when they forcibly take him to sea; causing wine to bubble up through the ship, while a vine loaded with clusters of grapes grows over the mast and sails. In a favorite Apocryphal legend of the infant Jesus, he sows wheat with his own hand, and at the proper time it produces a miraculous harvest in point of quantity (*Pseudo-Matthew*, 34; *Gospel of Thomas*, First Greek form, 12, Latin form, 10; see also Donehoo, *Apocryphal Life*, p. 118). In a variant legend, Jesus enters a field of wheat newly sown and commands it to become ripe, which it does immediately (Donehoo, *op. cit.*, p. 94, note). The propagation of trees from cuttings or slips was probably the primary suggestion for the many miracles of the blossoming rod or staff, such as that of Aaron (Num. xvii. 5-8). Jesus is fabled on one occasion to have planted three staves which immediately became as many trees, covered with bloom and fruit; while on another occasion, on May 25, an olive tree grew from a staff that he stuck in the ground (Donehoo, *op. cit.*, p. 107). In one form of the legend of the sacred sycamore tree of Matarea (see *Gospel of the Infancy*, 24), the fountain brought forth beneath it by the infant Jesus is led in streams through the country and causes barren trees to bear fruit (Xaverius, *Persian Life of Christ*, p. 102). Generally speaking, trees are green and fruitful in the summer half of the year, and dry and barren in the winter; the sun-god being the mythical transformer in all seasons. In a representation of the solar Mithra we find a tree in leaf connected with a bull's head (for Taurus as the spring sign), while another with fruit is connected with the opposite or autumn sign of the Scorpion (Montfaucon, *L'antiq. expl.*, I. Plate CCXV).

In the Canonical Gospels the only miracle of Jesus belonging to the vegetable kingdom is the one in which he causes a green tree to become leafless and dry, and this is also the only miracle of a destructive nature in these Gospels. It was probably introduced on the suggestion of Joel i. 7, 12, where the destruction of the fig-tree, which withers or dries up together with other trees, was naturally taken in connection with the earthquake and darkening of the sun in the following chapter (ii. 10); and the two latter elements reappear in connection with the Crucifixion of Jesus, while

the miracle of the fig-tree is placed shortly before that event—four days before, according to the Gospel chronology. This, however, leads to the inconsistency of making Jesus find a fig-tree in leaf in the spring season; for the leaves are preceded by the fruit, the early crop of which begins to form in spring and ripens in summer (Pliny, *H. N.*, XVI, 49; Hackett, *Illustrations of Scripture*, p. 133). Mark's story (xi. 12-14; 20-23) is as follows: "And on the morrow (the day after our Palm Sunday), having gone out from Bethany, he (Jesus) hungered. And seeing a fig-tree afar off having leaves, he went if perhaps he will find anything (i. e., any figs) on it. And having come to it, nothing he found except leaves, for it was not the season of figs. And answering, Jesus said to it, No more of thee forever let any one eat fruit. And his disciples heard....And in the morning (of the next day), passing by, they saw the fig-tree dried up from the roots. And having remembered, Peter says to him, Rabbi, see, the fig-tree which thou cursedst is dried up." Matthew alone (xxi. 18-22) repeats the story, with some variations: omitting the statement that it was not the season for figs and stating that the tree "dried up immediately" after Jesus cursed it. All authorities are agreed that it was not the season for figs when this cursing occurred, whence some suppose that the tree had put forth leaves out of the ordinary course of nature, and that Jesus therefore expected to find fruit on it—for the figs precede the leaves. But this not only denies the omniscience of Jesus, but makes him curse the tree for not bearing fruit out of season. Strauss conjectures that the story was originally symbolical of unfruitful Israel (*New Life of Jesus*, 81; cf. Luke xiii. 6-9), as if that nation were expected to be fruitful out of season; but both Mark and Matthew obviously intend the story to be taken literally. The Gnostic Docetæ identified the Gospel fig-tree with the great cosmic tree, without regard to seasons; and according to them Jesus cursed it "because he did not find upon it that sweet fruit, the sought-for produce" (figuratively of the Israelites or men in general—Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, VIII, 1).

Stories of the metamorphosis, transformation, or transfiguration of men and gods are found in the most highly developed mythologies as well as among primitive peoples generally. In Greek mythology such transformations are legion, many of them being collected by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*. The chief of the Greek transformers is Zeus (Jupiter) in his solar character; while Proteus, the Greek old man of the sea (probably a cloud figure originally) had the power of assuming all possible shapes (Homer, *Il.*, IV,

410, 455, etc.). In the *Book of the Dead* the deceased "arises as the living soul of Ra in heaven. He performs the prescribed transformations" (CXXVII, 11, Saïte). He is "the lord of the transformations" (CXXXIII, 10), like Horus, who is "radiant every day, and the master of transformations" (CXXXV, 1, Saïte —or "whose transformations are many," Theban). Twelve of the chapters in the *Book of the Dead* consist of formulas through



TWELVE TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE SUN-GOD IN THE HOURS OF THE DAY.

Edfu. (From Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 89.)

which as many transformations of the deceased are effected—into a dove, the serpent Sata, the bird Bennu, the crocodile Sebek, the god Ptah, a golden hawk, the chief of the principal gods, a soul, a lotus-flower and a heron (see Renouf, *Rel. Anc. Egypt*, p. 189). On a monument from Edfu the twelve transformations are assigned to the sun-god in his journey through the twelve hours of the day (Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, Plate XXIII, C; Champollion, *Mon.*, Plate

CXXIII; Maspero, *Dawn*, p. 89). Like the solar Ra and Osiris, the deceased may take any of the divine forms; whence it is said of him in the *Book of Respirations* (6): "Thy soul is divinized in heaven, to make all the transformations thou desirest." He becomes a Bennu (= Phœnix, a figure of the rising sun—Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 97) in the most important of his transformations (*Book of the Dead*, XVII, 27; XXIX, C, 1, etc.). In the *Litany of Ra*, where that sun-god appears both as the *pantheos* and the cosmic man, he is called "the god with the numerous forms in the sacred dwelling" (i. e., the heaven—I, 32); the forms especially mentioned being those of the at-fish, ram, scarabæus beetle, and lion (I, 23, 26, 32, 33 and 56). Again, "his form is that of the transformer" (*ibid.*, I, 36); he has seventy-five forms (I, 76), and the deceased king to whom the *Litany* relates is called both "the Royal Osiris" and "Ra himself" (II, 2). In other texts, the solar Osiris makes for himself various forms in the underworld (*Book of the Underworld*, in Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 230, etc.); and "The secret dwelling is in darkness in order that the transformations of this god may take place" (*Records of the Past*, I, p. 90). Again, during the conflict following the slaying of Osiris as a man, the enemies of Ra transform themselves into crocodiles and hippopotamuses, intending to swallow him; but they are conquered by Horus, who during the same conflict takes the form of a winged (solar) disk and afterward that of a lion, while Set changes himself into a serpent after he is slain in human form by Horus (Budge, *Gods*, I, pp. 478–482). In the Harris Magic Papyrus, the soli-cosmic Osiris takes the form of a monkey (probably for a storm-cloud) and afterward that of a crazy man (for the stormy heaven—*Records of the Past*, X, pp. 152, 153.).

Although the transformation concept was probably utilized in Egypt for the purpose of accounting for the various assimilations of originally distinct deities, it is evident enough from the above-cited texts that the sun-god was always recognized as the great transformer—doubtless because he was conceived to assume different shapes in each month of the year as in each hour or other division of the day. Thus in one text he says that he is Ra when he rises and Tem (or Tum) when he sets (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 335), while in another he says: "I am Khepra (the scarabæus god) in the morning, and Ra at noonday, and Tem in the evening" (*ibid.*, I, p. 352)—just as the Hindus identified these three phases of the sun respectively with Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, who were thus recognized as one god (*Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 267; V, p. 254).

In the view in which the daily revolution of the sun is divided into three equal parts by these three phases, they correspond to the three seasons of the Egyptian year; while the twelve hours of the day correspond to the twelve months. In his *Epistle* to Anebo the Egyptian, Porphyrius asks: "What is the meaning of those mystic narrations which say that a certain divinity is unfolded into light from mire....and that he changes his form every season (ὥρα, here for 'month') according to the signs of the zodiac?" And the answer is found in Iamblichus where he says that "the sun is diversified according to the signs of the zodiac, and every season changes his form" (*Theolog. Arithm.*, 3). In a hymn of the *Mahabharata*, the soli-cosmic deity is "the (one) god in twelve persons," and it is said to him: "Thou dividest thy person into twelve parts, and thou becomest the Twelve Adityas"—the Hindu gods of the months (*Vana Parva*, V, 189). The forms of the sun-god especially mentioned in the *Litany of Ra* as above cited—the fish, ram, scarabæus and lion—were not improbably referred to the zodiacal Pisces, Aries, Cancer and Leo; while Taurus corresponds to the bull-form of Osiris (as Asar-Hapi or Serapis). The Persians appear to have transferred some of the characteristics of the sun to Sirius, the brightest of the stars; for we find Tistar (= Sirius) assuming successively the forms of a man, a horse and a bull, and producing rain for ten days and nights in each form—or for a month of thirty days in all (*Bundahish*, VII, 4; *Tistar Yast*, 13, 16, 18).

The twelve ordinary months become twelve cycles of some two thousand years each in the great year of the precession of the equinoxes through the signs of the zodiac; and it is here in all probability that we have the primary suggestion for the periodical incarnation of the deity—a concept that reached its most highly developed forms among the worshipers of Vishnu. The number of his *avataras* or "descents from (heaven)" are variously given in Hindu works, the most popular group comprising ten forms in as many incarnations—a fish (Matsya), a tortoise (Kurma), a boar (Varaha), a man-lion (Narasinha), a dwarf (Vamana), Rama with the ax (Parasuruma), Rama, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki—all belonging to the past except Kalki, who is yet to come on a white horse, sword in hand, for the destruction of the wicked (*Ayeen Akbery*, III, pp. 285-292). Kalki corresponds to the future incarnation with a sword who comes on a white horse at the close of the current cosmic cycle, in Rev. xix, 11-16; and there can be little doubt that the mystic lamb of that Jewish-Christian book was recog-

nized as the Aries incarnation (*ibid.*, V, 6). The Pisces precessional month began at about the beginning of the Christian era, whence doubtless some of the early Greek and Roman Christians identified Jesus with a fish (see the preceding article of this series, on "The Cosmic Multiplications").

In Section XI of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the incarnate Krishna reveals himself to Arjuna in the form of the cosmic man. He "made evident unto Arjuna his supreme and celestial form.... The glory and amazing splendor of this mighty being may be likened to the sun shining at once into the heavens with a thousand times more than usual brightness. The son of Pandu (i. e., Arjuna) then beheld within the body of the God of Gods (Krishna), standing together, the whole universe divided forth into its vast variety." To him Arjuna says: "O universal Lord, form of the universe!.... I see thee, difficult to be seen, shining on all sides with light immeasurable....the sun and moon thine eyes; thy mouth a flaming fire, and the whole world shining with thy reflected glory....The (three) worlds, alike with me, are terrified to behold thy wondrous form gigantic." And Krishna answers, "Well pleased, O Arjuna, I have shown thee, by my divine power, this my supreme form, the universe, in all its glory." Finally, Krishna changed back to "his natural (human) form, and having assumed his milder shape, he presently assuaged the fears of the affrighted Arjuna."

The appearance of Gautama Buddha in his divine or celestial form is perhaps the most conspicuous event of his life on earth. In the *Book of the Great Decease* (IV, 47-52), the beloved disciple Ananda places upon Buddha "that pair of gold-cloth robes, burnished and ready for wear," and the former says to the latter: "Wonderful, O Lord! Marvelous, O Lord! that the color of the Tathagata's (Buddha's) skin should be so pure and purified. For when I placed upon the person of the Blessed One this pair of gold-cloth robes, burnished and ready for wear, it appeared bereft of its brightness." Buddha replies that the Tathagata's skin becomes thus pure and purified on two occasions; on the night when he is supernaturally enlightened, and on the night when he finally enters Nirvana (i. e., when he dies); and the account closes with a poetical quotation which attests the antiquity of the legend:

> "The pair of gold-cloth robes were brought by Pukkoso:
> The Master, when begirt therewith, in golden color shone."

In the Malalankara-vatthu version of the story, it is said of Buddha that "His body appeared shining like a flame. Ananda

was exceedingly surprised. . . .'Your exterior appearance,' said he to Buddha, 'is all at once white, shining and beautiful above all expression'" (note to above, in *Sacred Books of the East*, XI, p. 82). The *Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king* (part of which is translated in Beal's *Romantic History of Buddha*) tells of the transfiguration of the child Buddha, at a time when he was being praised and bedecked with jewels—"the glory of the prince's body eclipsed the glory of these gems, so that their brightness was not seen, and they all appeared dark and black even as a drop of ink." Buddha was also seen on Mount Pandava, sitting in the shade of a tree, "his body glorious as a bright golden image. . . .as the brightness of the sun and moon in the midst of the mountain"; so that the people said, "This is no mortal man, for never yet did man possess such beauty, and shed abroad such glory" (XXII, 2). He passed the night on the mountain, and in the morning went to the city of Rajagriha, where the people were filled with awe at beholding "the spiritual luster" that shone from his body (XXIII, 1; in Beal, *Romantic History*).

In the Old Testament account of the Giving of the Law on Sinai, God said to Moses: "Come up unto Jehovah, thou and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy from the elders of Israel, and prostrate yourselves at a distance. And let Moses alone come to Jehovah. . . .And Moses. . . .arose early in the morning, and built an altar below the mountain, and twelve memorial pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel (corresponding to the twelve signs of the zodiac). . . .Then went up Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy from the elders of Israel. And they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet the like of a paved work of sapphire stone, and the like of the very heaven for clearness. . . . And Jehovah said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mountain, and be there, and I will give thee the two tablets of stone, and the law and the commandment. . . .And Moses went up into the mountain and the cloud covered the mountain. And the glory of Jehovah abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days; and the seventh day he (Jehovah) called to Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And the appearance of the glory of Jehovah was like devouring fire on the top of the mountain in the eyes of the children of Israel. And Moses entered into the midst of the cloud. . . .and Moses was in the mountain forty days and forty nights" (Ex. xxiv. 1, 4, 9, 10, 12, 15-18). When he returned, Moses found that the people had made a golden calf, and in his anger he not only destroyed this image but also broke the two tablets on which Jehovah

had written the ten commandments (*ibid.* xxxii. 19, 20). But replicas were subsequently written by Jehovah on Sinai; and when Moses returned with them "the skin of his face sent forth rays" (A. V., 'had become shining'; Sept., 'was made glorious'), so the people feared to approach him except when he put on a veil (*ibid.* xxxiv. 1, 4, 28-35). According to the *Book of Enoch*, men shall not be able to behold the faces of the elect ones at the time of the Judgment, for the Lord of Spirits shall cause his light to illumine their faces (XXXVIII, 4). In the *Litany of Ra*, that sun-god is addressed as Senekher = Shining Face, and "his form is that of Senekher" (I, 62); while, as we saw above, the whole body of Buddha shone brighter than gold, and that of Krishna shone brighter than the sun—whence it seems that Moses in his glorified transfiguration is of solar character, while the sun-god himself is represented by Jehovah in his glory "like devouring fire" (just as Ra has the form of "the burning one" and is "the master of light," in the *Litany*, I, 40, 75). Furthermore, the destruction of the golden calf coming as it does after the institution of the Passover at about the time of the spring equinox, with its sacrifice of a male lamb and change of date for the beginning of the year (Ex. xii. 2-11), suggests that the lamb was substituted for the calf by the Israelites, and that this substitution and change in the calendar belong to the epoch when the spring equinox retrograded from Taurus into Aries.

The generality of the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era held that the history of Moses as the first Redeemer would be repeated in that of the Messiah as the second Redeemer (*Eccl. Rab.*, I, 9; *Mishna, Sanh.*, 111a, etc.). In the figurative language of 2 Cor. iii. 7–iv. 6, the veiled glory of the face of Moses represents the Old Testament dispensation which is superseded by the "glad tidings" of Christ; the veil being taken away from "the surpassing glory" of Christ, "who is the image of God," so that Christians "with uncovered face beholding the glory of the Lord (God) as in a mirror (i.e., in Christ), to the same image are being transformed (μεταμορφούμεθα) from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit (God)." It is not impossible that we have here the immediate suggestion for the Gospel story of the Transfiguration of Jesus, the earliest extant form of which is presumably in Mark ix. 2-10, where it is evidently an interpolation, breaking as it does the connection between verses 1 and 11. But the Gospel story is certainly intended to be taken literally, whereas in 2 Corinthians the transformation (of both Christ and his followers) is spiritual, somewhat like that of Enoch, whose "spirit was trans-

figured" when he was translated into the heaven (*Book of Enoch*, LXXI, 11). Mark's story follows: "And after six days (i. e., on the seventh day, doubtless originally the Jewish Sabbath, as in the Mosaic account of the appearance of Jehovah in his glory), Jesus takes with him Peter and James and John, and brings them alone up into a high mountain apart. And he was transformed (*μετεμορφώθη*; Vulgate, *transfiguratus est*; A. V., 'was transfigured') before them; and his garments became shining, white exceedingly as snow, such as a fuller on the earth is not able to whiten (or, 'he became shining, and his raiment became white like snow,' according to the Sinaitic Palimpsest). And appeared to them Elijah, with Moses, and they were talking with Jesus. And answering, Peter says to Jesus, Rabbi, good it is for us to be here; and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah. For he knew not what he should say, for they had become greatly afraid (like Arjuna at the transfiguration of Krishna). And there came a cloud overshadowing them, and there came a voice out of the cloud (the voice of God, who spoke to Moses out of a cloud), saying, This is my son, the beloved (as at the baptism of Jesus, Mark i. 11; Matt. iii. 17; Luke iii. 22); hear ye him (cf. Deut. xviii. 15; Acts iii. 22; vii. 37). And suddenly having looked around, no longer any one they saw but Jesus alone with themselves"—and "as he was (before his transformation)," according to the *Diatessaron*. The story closes with the descent from the mountain and the charge of Jesus that no one should be told of the occurrence till after his resurrection. Matthew (xvii. 1-9) has substantially the same story, with the same Greek word for "he was transformed"; but with some variations and additions. Thus this Evangelist says of Jesus that "his face shone as the sun, and his garments became white as the light....and a luminous cloud overshadowed them; and lo, a voice out of the cloud saying, This is my son, the beloved, in whom I have found delight; hear ye him. And hearing it, the disciples fell upon their faces, and were very greatly affrighted. And having come to them, Jesus touched them, and said, Arise, and be not terrified. And lifting up their eyes, they saw no one except Jesus alone." In Luke (ix. 28-36) the account is recast throughout—"And it came to pass after these words about eight days (probably 'on the eighth day' in the original of Luke's version, with Sunday instead of Saturday recognized as the Sabbath), that having taken Peter and John and James, he (Jesus) went up into the mountain to pray. And it came to pass, as he prayed the appearance of his face (became) changed, and his

clothing (became) gleaming white (or, 'as the light of lightning'—*Diatessaron*). And behold, two men talked with him, who were Moses and Elijah, who appearing in glory spoke of his departure (i. e., his death) which he was about to accomplish in Jerusalem. But Peter and those with him were oppressed with sleep; and having awoke, they saw his glory, and the two men who stood with him. And it came to pass, as these (two men) departed from him ....a cloud came and overshadowed them (the disciples) and they feared as those (two men) entered into the cloud: and a voice came out of the cloud, saying, This is my son, the beloved (or, 'the chosen,' as in the Sinaitic Palimpsest and the *Diatessaron*, answering to 'the Elect One' of *Enoch*, XC, 5, etc.): hear ye him. And as occurred the voice, Jesus was found alone." The story is wanting in John; but there is an allusion to it in 2 Peter i. 17-18, where the writer follows Matthew in a general way, but rather loosely refers to "the apostles" as eyewitnesses of the scene. This probably suggested the statement in the *Apocalypse of Peter* that the twelve disciples went with Jesus into a mountain; and when they begged him to show them one of the dead in the other world, "suddenly there appeared two men (Moses and Elijah) standing before the Lord toward the east, on whom we were not able to look, for there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun" (4-6).

It should be sufficiently evident without detailed comparisons that the Gospel stories of the Transfiguration are to a large extent mere variant composites of the two (or more) stories of Moses, in the latter (or last) of which he appears with his shining face; while the shining or gleaming garments of Jesus are like those of the glorified Buddha (and Krishna).

Primarily the three Apostles with Jesus are counterparts of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, who with Moses "saw the God of Israel" on Sinai; and they also serve as the number of witnesses required by Jewish law (Deut. xix. 15; Luke ix. 28, etc.). Peter, James and John were also the witnesses of the raising of the daughter of Jairus and of the agony of Jesus in Gethsemane, while James and John had desired seats on the right and left of Jesus in his "glory" (Mark x. 37) or "kingdom" (Matt. xx. 21). Moreover, in Mark iii. 17, James and John are called "Boanerges" (= Sons of Thunder, with reference to their zeal), and in Ex. xix. 9, 16, 18, Jehovah appears on Sinai in a storm-cloud, with thunders and lightnings, smoke, fire and earthquake. Moses alone went to Jehovah in Ex. xxiv, his three companions evidently remaining somewhat lower on the mountain; whence in all probability Jesus was conceived

to have gone somewhat higher than the three Apostles when he was transfigured—which gives a symmetrical arrangement of the typical seven figures in the scene, with the three visitors from heaven highest of all, doubtless in the air according to the original concept. Jehovah was alone when he appeared to Moses; but he is accompanied by Moses and Elijah in the symmetrical Gospel arrangement of the seven figures. Without this arrangement, Enoch might well have been included with Moses and Elijah, as they were the three human beings supposed by the Jews to have been translated to heaven, the rest of the dead being in the underworld (Heb. xi. 5; Josephus, *Antiq.*, IV, 8, 18; 2 Kings ii. 11, etc.). Moreover, Moses and Elijah (without Enoch, for the reason suggested) were probably recognized by the Gospel writers as a sort of connecting link between the old and the new dispensations, attesting the Messiahship of Jesus.

The identification of the Mount of the Transfiguration of Jesus with an actual mountain or hill in Palestine has been abandoned in despair by critical commentators; in fact, we may be sure it would have been definitely named had such an identification been plausible. The Gospel mountain corresponds not only to Sinai, but also to Pandava in the transfiguration of Buddha; and in the mythical view all three mountains represent the dome of heaven, primarily with the sun-god in the meridian. This is probably the position of Jehovah in both the Mosaic and Christian scenes, while in the latter Moses and Elijah are on Jehovah's right and left, to the east and west. In the same view, Jesus is also in the meridian, below Jehovah, as is Peter with James to the right or east and John to the left or west; and as Jesus is the Pisces incarnation, while Peter is recognized as the Apostle of that sign, the sign itself may well have been conceived as in the meridian at midday at the time of the Transfiguration—with Jehovah and Jesus as duplicate solar figures, and James and John perhaps in Gemini and Sagittarius respectively. This would appear to put the original date of the Transfiguration of Jesus at the spring equinox in Pisces, about a year before the Crucifixion; for that equinox retrograded into Pisces about the beginning of the Christian era.

In the Gospel stories Jesus does not appear to undergo any actual change in form, in which respect these stories are like those of Moses and Buddha, but unlike that of Krishna. But it is not impossible that Mark (and Matthew) employed the word μετεμορφώθη (= "was metamorphosed" or "transformed") on the suggestion of some symbolical reference to the metamorphosis of the

Messiah for his incarnation in the Pisces precessional period; for the Greek word properly signifies an actual or apparent change in form or figure (whence the A. V. "transfigured"); and while the Messiah is symbolized by a lamb in Revelation (as if for the Aries incarnation), Jesus was frequently represented as a fish by the early Christians (for the incarnation of the Pisces period). Luke omits the statement that Jesus "was transformed," and states instead that "the appearance of his face changed"; while the *Diatessaron* has it that "Jesus changed and became after the fashion of another person, and his face shone like the sun" (XXIV, 3). According to the *Acts of John* (4), that Apostle beheld the transfigured Jesus as naked and not in any wise as a man, but standing on the ground with his feet whiter than snow and luminous, and his head reaching into the heaven; and when John cried out in fear, Jesus again became as a man of small (or normal) stature.

In the *Gospel of the Infancy,* Jesus transforms boys to kids, but shortly restores them to human shape (40); and he also restores a man who had been changed into a mule through witchcraft (20, 21).

MANIFESTATIONS OF THE RISEN JESUS.

BY WM. WEBER.

THE Gospels and Acts contain a few accounts of appearances of Jesus after his resurrection which may be considered together under the heading "Manifestations of the Risen Jesus." They are: the Last Interview, the Emmaus Appearance, the Touch and Food Test, and the Thomas Episode. I pass over the appearance at the Lake of Tiberias, the last appendix to the fourth Gospel, because that narrative is based on Luke v. 3-9, belonging to a different period of the life of Jesus. For several reasons, it is advisable to examine first the Last Interview. In doing so, the first Gospel will be disposed of as far as the resurrection is concerned. Besides, it is the only one of the pericopes just named of which we possess parallel versions. Last but not least, it is the most important and instructive of them all, as will appear in the course of the following investigation.

The first Gospel records only a single meeting of Jesus and his disciples after he had risen from the dead (Matt. xxviii. 16-20). It took place in Galilee, and the opening words: "And the eleven disciples went into Galilee," apparently join it directly to either of the two preceding versions of the story of the Women at the Grave. For the angel as well as Jesus directed the women to tell the disciples they should go to Galilee where they would meet their risen master. But when we find verse 16 to continue: "unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them," grave doubts are bound to arise whether the final pericope of Matthew is really and organically connected with the preceding passage. For no mountain nor any other place of rendezvous is mentioned in either the angel message or the command of Jesus. Acts i. 12 locates the last meeting of Jesus and his disciples expressly on Mount Olivet near Jerusalem; and Luke xxiv. 50 names Bethany, a village on the same mountain, as the exact place where Jesus ascended into heaven. Our

tradition is, therefore, contradictory; and it is not improbable that the just quoted first part of verse 16 owes its existence to the compiler who added the burial and resurrection chapter to the first Gospel. That impression is confirmed by the peculiar character of the pericope of the Women at the Grave as well as by the negative testimony of the other sources. We neither expect any direct continuation of the angel message, nor is such a continuation met with in any of the other Gospels. Our passage is therefore to be recognized as an entirely independent narrative, leaving, however, the question where the mountain was located undecided.

The most important feature of Matt. xxviii. 16-20 is the new commandment of Jesus: "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Am. R. V., verse 19). To convey a more distinct idea of the meaning of that commandment, it would be better to use the term "all the Gentiles" instead of "all the nations." For that is what the corresponding Greek words really signify.

We have here a strict and unequivocal order, directly opposed to the first missionary precept given by Jesus and found Matt. x. 5. The latter reads: "Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." According to those words, Jesus enjoined his apostles emphatically to confine their missionary work strictly and absolutely to members of their own nation; he forbade them directly to preach the Gospel to Gentiles and Samaritans.

Jesus considered himself bound by that rule, as one may learn from the pericope of the Canaanitish Woman (Matt. xv. 21-28 and Mark vii. 24-30). He refused at first to heal the daughter of the Gentile woman, saying: "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. xv. 24), and: "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs" (Matt. xv. 26 and Mark vii. 27). The "children," of course, are the Jews and the "dogs", the Gentiles. Another saying of Jesus to the same effect has been preserved Matt. vii. 6: "Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine."

Statements of that kind are characteristic of the spiritual pride and exclusiveness of the Jewish nation which was either shared or at least taken into serious consideration by Jesus. It does not fall within the scope of the present paper to account for or to explain the attitude of Jesus in this matter. But it is necessary to establish the fact that Jesus prohibited his apostles when he first

commissioned them to preach his Gospel from attempting to reach the Gentiles or even the kindred Samaritans. That will render it clear how strange and unexpected the missionary charge of the risen Jesus must have sounded to the astonished disciples. It was bound to leave just on that account an indelible impression upon their minds and memory; and if they ever had believed in Jesus and obeyed him before, they now could not but regard it as their most sacred duty to go at once to the Gentiles and invite them to enter into the Kingdom of God.

It might be said, of course, those words which bear the imprint of all that is repulsive in Pharisaic Judaism, occur with a single exception only in Matthew. We have learned to look upon everything vouched for by one of the Gospels, and especially one of the Synoptic Gospels only, as of doubtful authenticity. Why should not that rule be applied to the passages under discussion and Matt. xxviii. 19 be accepted as the only genuine missionary commandment of Jesus? It certainly forecasts the actual course of the Christian propaganda and the development of the religion of Christ into one of the universal religions. Both commandments can have been given hardly by one and the same person since they contradict and exclude each other. Moreover, also the third Gospel ascribes to the risen Jesus a statement closely related to Matt. xxviii. 19, namely, "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the Gentiles" (Luke xxiv. 47). Besides, we have a similar saying in the parallel account Acts i. 6-11: "Ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Thus, as far as the number of witnesses is concerned, the universal commandment is even better attested than its opposite.

We must not be overhasty, however, to apply mechanically in any instance a text-critical rule which holds good in very many, if not in most cases. There are in the given instance some other factors which ought not to be lost sight of. That Matthew alone has handed down those sayings of Jesus does not stamp them as spurious automatically. It is not difficult to understand how and why the early Christians may have obliterated the corresponding passages in the other Gospels. For those words must have struck the Gentile Christians from the very beginning as incompatible with the spirit of Christianity and the actual spread of their religion. They could not see how such a phenomenal growth could have started in opposition to Christ's will and command. They failed to conceive the circumstances which might have made such a precept

of Jesus wise and reasonable, at least as a temporary measure. Thus, all the Gentile compilers and editors of the Gospels during their formative period were sorely tempted to reject all such obnoxious words of Jesus they might come upon in their sources. That they were retained in the first Gospel may be due to especially favorable conditions. Matthew may have been, for instance, in the care and keeping of Jewish Christians much longer than the other Gospels. After a certain time, reverence of the written sacred words of the New Testament writings no longer permitted any serious omissions and other changes in the text as it had been handed down.

Fortunately, we are not dependent upon such reflections in order to decide whether Matt. x. 5-6 or Matt. xxviii. 19 or both preserve genuine sayings of Jesus. Everybody has to admit that the charge given the disciples by their glorified master admitted of neither doubt nor hesitation. It was impossible for them to forget that momentous precept. Supposing, therefore, the words Matt. xxviii. 19 to have actually been uttered by Jesus, we must take it for granted that the apostles began at the very first opportunity to carry their message not only to the Jews but also to the Samaritans and Gentiles.

On the day of Pentecost, indeed, when the disciples bore witness to their faith in Jesus for the first time in public, they seem to have addressed representatives of all nations on earth (Acts ii. 9-11). But we ought to remember: Jerusalem at that time was by no means a cosmopolitan metropolis with a large foreign population. The city was nothing but the religious center of the Jews, not even the official residence of the Roman governor. Far removed from the great routes of travel, it had no commercial importance; no great industries flourished within its walls. Its life and existence depended altogether upon the temple and its visitors. There was nothing to attract foreign settlers, nor would they have been welcomed to stay. They were "dogs" and "swine," unclean beasts whose very breath defiled a pious Jew. A heathen would hardly dare to sneak into the temple, as to pass a certain limit within the temple meant death for him. Hence it is unthinkable that heathen in any number should have gathered anywhere in the temple at the Feast of Weeks and admitted in public not to be Jews. What happened to the apostle Paul who was accused of having brought Greeks into the temple and thereby defiled the holy place (Acts xxi. 28), gives us an inkling of what the Jews would have done to unknown

and uninvited visitors, reckless enough to proclaim their foreign nationality within the halls of the temple.

But the Pentecost address of the apostle Peter (Acts ii. 14-36) shows unmistakably who was really present at that occasion. He appeals to his audience as "Jews and all ye people of Jerusalem." The translation "ye men of Judea" (Am. R. V.) is misleading. For at that period, the term "Jews" had long become the name of the entire nation. The apostle speaks to two classes of people, pilgrims who had come from the different districts of Palestine as well as other parts of the world, and inhabitants of the holy city. Both of them were Jews by birth and by religion. Thus, when he employs the vocative a second time he calls them simply "Israelites" and, in his peroration, appeals to them as "all the house of Israel." The leader of the Twelve is therefore trying in his first great effort of making converts, to reach, not representatives of heathen nations, but alone his own countrymen.

According to Acts x the first-fruits of the Gentiles, gathered in by St. Peter, were the centurion Cornelius of Cæsarea and some of his kinsmen and friends. But it required, on the one hand, a special divine revelation, repeated three times, to cause the apostle to listen to the invitation of the Gentile centurion, and, on the other hand, the gift of the Holy Spirit bestowed upon those Gentiles, even before they were baptized, to bring him to the conclusion: "Can any man forbid the water that these should not be baptized who have received the gift of the Holy Spirit as well as we?" If St. Peter had been aware at that time of Matt. xxviii. 19, neither the vision nor the gift of the Holy Spirit would have been necessary. He would not even have waited for being invited by a Gentile to explain the Christian conception of the Kingdom of God to him; but would rather have inquired among his friends who of their heathen acquaintances might be interested in his message.

Acts xi. 1-13 illustrates how ignorant also the other apostles and brethren were of the great missionary commandment. They rebuked St. Peter when he came again to Jerusalem for having held intercourse with Gentiles and were not satisfied until he had explained in detail all the circumstances which had led to the baptism of Cornelius and his people. "When they heard these things, they held their peace and glorified God, saying: Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life."

The first to preach Jesus to Samaritans and Gentiles were followers of the protomartyr Stephen, who had to leave Jerusalem after the death of their leader. Philip, one of the colleagues of

Stephen, became the apostle of the Samaritans (Acts viii. 4ff). Others traveled north as far as Antioch but spoke "the word to none save only to Jews." Not till they had arrived at the Syrian capital, did some of them speak "to the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus" (Acts xi. 19).

The persecution whose first victim was the Hellenistic deacon Stephen did not affect the Palestinian Christians but only those who had been won over from among the Jews of the diaspora who spoke Greek. These held more liberal views than the natives of Palestine and were the first to recognize the true character of their new religion and that Christianity was superior to Judaism. The charges raised against St. Stephen, who was evidently the leader of the universalistic movement whose chief exponent afterward St. Paul became, was: "We have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place [the temple] and change the customs which Moses delivered unto us" (Acts vi. 14). In his defense, the martyr does not deny that accusation but rather undertakes to prove the truth of the statements ascribed to him. The temple cannot be the house of God; and the Law, credited by the Jews to Moses, is an adulterated substitute for the true divine law which had to be revealed anew through Jesus.

If men who cherished such convictions acted at first as if they were still bound by Matt. x. 5-6, they cannot have known the commandment of Matt. xxviii. 19. To be sure, they communicated eventually their religious knowledge to Gentiles, but, in doing so, they followed their individual judgment and not an order given by Jesus. Consequently, a special meeting of the apostles was required at Jerusalem to approve of that missionary work among the Greeks at Antioch (Acts xv).

The frequent references of the apostle Paul to Judaistic interference with his work among the Gentiles will close and clinch our argument. Numerous passages in his Epistles treat of that controversy. It is sufficient for our purpose to review only the statements found in the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians. The apostle furnishes us a few data of his Christian career. He was called by Jesus to preach him among the Gentiles (Gal. i. 16). He labored first for some time in Arabia and then "again," that is, a second time, at Damascus (Gal. i. 17). Apparently three years after his second stay in Damascus, he spent two weeks at Jerusalem and made the acquaintance of Cephas and James the brother of the Lord. Thence he went to Syria and Cilicia. Fourteen years later, he ascended another time to Jerusalem, and to use his own

words: "I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles" (Gal. ii. 2). He wanted to come to an understanding with the leading men among the original disciples, "lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in vain" (Gal. ii. 2). Judaistic intrigues had forced that decision upon him (Gal. ii. 4f). The outcome of that conference may best be told in the apostle's own words. He writes: "When they saw that I had been intrusted with the gospel unto the uncircumcision, even as Peter with the gospel to the circumcision (for he that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles); and when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision" (Gal. ii. 7-9).

Such words leave no room for doubt but that the first apostles as late as twenty years or more after St. Paul's conversion and even a longer time after the death and resurrection of Jesus, obeyed still the command of their master, preserved in Matt. x. 5f, and worked exclusively among the Jews. They acknowledged the apostleship of St. Paul, not because they remembered words of Jesus like those of Matt. xxviii. 19, but because they could not overlook the great success of St. Paul and his fellow-workers among the heathen. Yet in spite of that official recognition, even St. Peter was not quite sure whether St. Paul was right or not. During a visit to Antioch, he communed at first freely with Gentile Christians, but withdrew from all intercourse with them after some friends of St. James had arrived (Gal. ii. 11ff).

The objection might be raised the controversy between St. Paul and the Judaistic Christians did not involve the question whether Gentiles could become Christians but rather whether Gentile Christians had to accept the entire Jewish religion in addition to their belief in Jesus. But how could Gentiles have been converted at all, if all the disciples had worked exclusively among the Jews and if they shrank from intercourse even with Gentile Christians that had not been circumcised? Such an attitude presupposed that they would not approach Gentiles except they had been converted to Judaism by some one else. How impossible that was appears from the words of Jesus: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is become so, ye make him twofold more a son of hell than yourselves" (Matt. xxiii. 15).

Our present knowledge entitles us to maintain: If all the early

Christians had decided to wait with preaching to Gentiles directly until the latter had become Jews, Christianity would have remained an insignificant Jewish sect and as such would have been lost to the world. For Judaism as a strictly national religion could and can never become a universal religion. If the world at large was ever to accept the religion of Jesus of Nazareth, that task had to be approached in just the way St. Paul and his colleagues went at it. Christianity pure and simple, not Judaism plus Christianity, had to be offered to the Gentiles. That is what St. Paul did, not because Jesus had left any direct order to that effect, but because he had become convinced that he was doing what was right and necessary. He himself calls the process by which he arrived at that conviction a special and personal divine revelation. "God....called me through his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles" (Gal. i. 15f).

The statement of St. Paul, representing a strictly authentic and contemporary source of history, a characteristic which does not belong unconditionally to all the passages found in the Gospels and the Acts, carry the greatest possible weight, especially as they are confirmed in our case by the testimony of the Acts. They render it absolutely certain that the passage Matt. xxviii. 16-20 cannot be an authentic record of what actually happened and was said when Jesus appeared after his death to his disciples. It is rather an account written many years afterward by a person to whom evidently the conquest of the heathen world for Jesus was the result of the divine master's will and express command.

That conclusion, from which there is no escape, enables us to fix, at least approximately, the date when the closing section of the first Gospel originated, which, however, is not by any means the date when it was added to the Gospel. As an indisputable fact, nobody could have dreamt of putting the universal missionary commandment into the mouth of Jesus during the Apostolic Age. For it was contradicted by the fierce struggle of Judaism against the Pauline conception of Christianity. Wherever St. Paul had succeeded in founding a congregation of believers, he was followed by Judaistic missionaries who taught in the name of the original apostles that is was not sufficient simply to believe in Jesus Christ but that the Gentile Christians had to become full-fledged Jews before they could be sure of their salvation. They did not acknowledge the apostleship of St. Paul and evidently claimed that Jesus had not sent his true apostles to the Gentiles.

The memory of that bitter struggle cannot have died with the

Apostolic Age. The second generation of Gentile Christians must have been quite familiar with all its phases, especially since the Judaistic propaganda remained very active. But several circumstances combined in causing the Gentile Christians to forget during the first half of the second century entirely under what conditions the new religion had first gained a foothold among their grandfathers. The number of Gentile Christians increased and multiplied so rapidly that oral tradition, handed down from father to son, ceased to be a living factor. The Judaistic Christians, while still very active, were no longer a real menace, for lack of proportionate numbers. The Gospels, or rather what Justin calls "Memoirs of the Apostles," were translated into Greek and other languages and read regularly at the religious services of the Christians (Just. Mart., 1 *Ap.*, 67). From those "memoirs" the Gentiles learned to regard and honor the Twelve Apostles as the leading representatives and principal missionaries of Jesus Christ even among the heathen. Justin Martyr himself, who had received some philosophical training, does not mention the apostle Paul by name in his writings, although he speaks of St. Peter. The pressing duties of the day and the bloody war with the religious intolerance of their heathen neighbors, left those Christians neither time nor inclination for studying the history of their religion, provided there were people able to do such work in their midst.

In such an atmosphere, the words of Matt. xxviii. 19 were bound to be ascribed to Jesus sooner or later. But I doubt very much whether Justin Martyr ever found them in his "Memoirs of the Apostles." He mentions repeatedly that the Gospel was carried to every nation on earth. But in doing so, he rather introduces an accomplished fact. The nearest he comes to ascribing that fact to a direct command of Jesus is that statement (1 *Ap.*, 31): "Some were sent by him to every nation of the human race." But that is very far from being a direct quotation of either our Matthew passage or Acts i. 8f or Luke xxiv. 44ff. Matt. xxviii. 16-20 has, therefore, been written hardly before the death of Justin Martyr. We may assign that section to about the year 150.

The second half of Matt. xxviii. 19 contains another clause which, if part of the original text, would bring down the date of the origin of our passage to A. D. 200, or even a later year. I am referring to the words: "Baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." They are our present-day baptismal formula. But that, while very old, does certainly not go back to the Apostolic Age. The New Testament

mentions baptism and baptizing quite frequently. But wherever the word is modified by a prepositional phrase, it is always baptizing in or into the name of Jesus Christ. On the day of Pentecost St. Peter advised his hearers: "Repent ye and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts ii. 38). People of Samaria, as we learn Acts viii. 14, where baptized "into the name of the Lord Jesus." St. Peter ordered Cornelius and his friends "to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts x. 48). The apostle Paul met at Ephesus certain disciples who had been baptized "into John's baptism" and had them baptized "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts xix. 15). The Epistles of St. Paul give testimony of the same fact. Rom. vi. 3 we find the question: "Are you ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death?" Gal. iii. 27 the apostle states: "As many of you as were baptized into Christ put on Christ." Likewise the question: "Were you baptized into the name of Paul?" (1 Cor. i. 13), and the clause: "lest any man should say that ye were baptized into my name" (1. Cor. i. 15), imply clearly that the baptism St. Paul knew and practised was performed into the name of Jesus.

Here again we encounter a discrepancy between Matt. xxviii. 19 and the whole New Testament which cannot be removed by any explanation. We are thus compelled to regard the words which appear but once as unhistorical. The statement put into the mouth of the risen Jesus must be spurious. The risen Christ either directed his disciples to baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. In that case the apostles would doubtless have done so. Or the risen Christ did not tell the Eleven to employ that formula because they always baptized into the name of Jesus only.

The Baptismal Confession, or "Apostles' Creed" represents the oldest attempt of systematizing the Christian doctrine. It is generally supposed to be based upon the baptismal formula, naming the three persons of the Trinity, which in turn is supposed to be of apostolic origin. But that belief is an unproven and unprovable assumption. The "Apostles' Creed" may just as well and even more likely be older than the trinitarian formula; and the latter would then represent the shortest epitome of the former. As such it cannot have been used in baptizing before it had become customary to have the candidates for baptism repeat the "Apostles' Creed." Neither the New Testament nor the *Didache* nor Justin Martyr know of such a use of the Baptismal Confession. They antedate, of course, the latter.

The early history of the "Apostles' Creed" is comparatively well known. It is supposed to have originated in Asia Minor after the first quarter of the second century and spread during the second half of that century gradually among the churches of the East and West. It may have been used at Ephesus and Rome as early as A. D. 130. But it was bound to require quite a good while until the trinitarian formula, derived from it, succeeded in replacing the original apostolic formula. That could not happen before the Christians had come to look upon the doctrine of Trinity as the very corner-stone of their religion. The first writer who uses the word "Trinity" and says distinctly "that tri-personality pertains to the one God as He is in Himself" is Tertullian, A. D. 150-230. Consequently the baptismal formula: "into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," has to be assigned to the beginning of the third century.

However, the direction: "Baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," occurs twice in the seventh chapter of the *Didache,* which treats of baptism. That little book is assigned by most authorities to the beginning of the second century. Bryennios, the discoverer and editor of the text, places it between 120 and 160. If what was said shortly before is correct, we could not expect to meet the trinitarian formula in such an early writing even though it should belong to the year 160. As a matter of fact, the apostolic formula appears at the end of Chapter IX where we read: "No one shall eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who are baptized into the name of the Lord." How can, under these circumstances, the trinitarian formula be accounted for in Chapter VII? To say: "The shorter form does not necessitate the inference that the larger formula was not in use," means nothing but to refuse to recognize and try to solve the problem presented by the occurence of both formulas in one and the same writing.

No matter whether one accepts or rejects what has been said about the origin of the trinitarian baptismal formula, the apostolic formula is the older of the two. The two formulas express different ideas, belonging to different ages of Christian thought and development. To baptize *in* the name of Jesus means to baptize by the authority of Jesus, who was a real person. To baptize *into* the name of Jesus signifies, if we accept the definition of St. Paul, to unite with Jesus. Both ideas are understood readily and by everybody, being, if one may use such a term, of a concrete nature. The trinitarian formula, on the other hand, bears a mystic char-

acter. Nobody can baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, for there exists no baptismal commandment given by the three persons of the Trinity. And to baptize into the name of the Trinity is something of which no distinct and adequate idea can be formed. During the period of transition, there may and must have been Christians, especially in different parts of the Christian world, some of whom continued to cling conservatively to the original formula while others of a more progressive nature adopted the new one. But it is inconceivable how one and the same person could make use of both alternately.

Under these conditions, the occurrence of both formulas in the *Didache* simply demonstrates that the original text contained the apostolic formula in both chapters and that this was replaced later on for certain reasons by the trinitarian formula in the first passage.

The *Didache* is the oldest church manual handed down to us. It consists of two main parts; the first six chapters are devoted to Christian ethics for the instruction of catechumens, the remaining chapters contain directions pertaining to worship and discipline. Any one who wanted to be admitted into the fellowship of the Christians had to learn and know the first six chapters before he was admitted to baptism, as the opening words of Chapter VII indicate and as also Bryennios sets forth in a long note to that passage. That excludes, as a matter of fact, the "Apostles' Creed" and the formula based upon that confession. The booklet was used as a catechism for a long time, as appears from the following statements of Bryennios: "Other Christian writers who read the *Didache* of the Twelve Apostles and used it evidently in their writings are: the author of the *Clementinae,* Irenæus, Clemens of Alexandria. and John of Climax. Clemens, the teacher of the Alexandrians, counts indeed the *Didache* among the Divine Scriptures and is evidently, in doing so, exaggerating its authority. Eusebius, the friend of Pamphilus, has placed it among the doubtful writings. The great Athanasius, however, counts it among those scriptures which were ordained by the holy Fathers to be read by neophytes and such as wish to be taught the principles of our religion."

The *Didache* was used therefore as a text-book for religious instruction even in the fourth century. In the long time between its first publication and the Council of Nicæa, important changes took place in the Christian Church. The orthodox faith was elaborated and firmly established. The new doctrines affected the entire church life and, not least, the old sacred rites. The

Didache had thus become obsolete. But being held in such high esteem, it could not be put aside. Thus, the only alternative left was to bring the text by emendations up to date. In that way the apostolic baptismal formula was replaced in the chapter on baptism by the trinitarian formula and the words "three times" inserted in the statement: "If you have no running water, baptize in other water. If you cannot do it in cold water, do so in warm water. If you have neither, pour [three times] water upon the head [in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit]." For I am under the impression that baptism in the Apostolic Age consisted of only one, not three immersions.

Having drawn above the conclusion that Matt. xxviii. 19 was still unknown to Justin Martyr, we are facing now the question whether the philosopher was familiar with the trinitarian formula. If that formula is related closely to belief in Trinity, Justin Martyr is not likely to have ever heard of it. The doctrine of Trinity, the most important contribution of the Greek mind to Christianity, was formulated and developed in the course of the third century. Apart from the insignificant body of Judaistic Christians, it was universally acknowledged from the day of its first appearance. For the controversies, settled by the ecumenical councils, did not concern the fundamental doctrine but rather the accurate definition of the mutual relationship of the three persons who formed the one Trinity. Accordingly, it is *a priori* improbable that the trinitarian formula was known and used during the age of Justin. For, as Fisher in his *History of the Christian Doctrine* expresses it: "It is evident that his conception of the Holy Spirit and of the relation of the Spirit to the Father and Son is not well defined in his own thoughts." What that really means may best be learned from the confession of faith with which the apologist meets the charge of atheism right in the beginning of his *First Apology* (6): "We confess to be atheists as far as such so-called gods are concerned, but not as for the most true God, who is both Father of righteousness and self-control and the other virtues and unalloyed by wickedness. But we adore and worship Him and also the Son who came from Him and taught us this and the host of the other good angels who follow and are similar to them and the prophetic Spirit, giving honor in word and truth and imparting ungrudgingly to everybody who wishes to learn what we were taught."

1 *Ap.*, 61, however, we come upon the statement: "For in the name of the Father of the universe and of the Lord God and of the Saviour Jesus Christ and of the Holy Spirit they are then made

the bath in the water." The translation follows closely the Greek text. In the first place, those words are not exactly our trinitarian formula. In the second place, the verb does not agree with its direct object. The Greeks used to say "to give a bath" and "to bathe a bath," but not "to make a bath." Even if "to make a bath" were idiomatic Greek, the passive voice could not be constructed with the accusative of the direct object, just as little as we could say "I am made a bath." The quoted sentence is therefore, to say the least, suspicious. The temporal adverb "then" strengthens that suspicion. Baptism with Justin is a new birth, or regeneration. The immersion in water is the act that symbolizes the new birth. The very last word, preceding the just quoted passage, is the verb "they are born anew," "they are regenerated," that is to say: "they are baptized." Under these circumstances, the adverb "then" proves the whole statement of which it forms a part to be entirely out of place. That means, the sentence must be a gloss. This conclusion is confirmed when we drop the sentence. The whole passage then reads: "As many as have become persuaded and believe what is told and said by us is true and promise to be able to live accordingly, are taught to pray and ask from God with fasting forgiveness of their former sins while we pray and fast with them. Then they are led by us to a place where there is water, and in an act figurative of a new birth, as we ourselves also were born anew, they are regenerated. For also Christ said: Unless you are born anew, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." The terms "born anew" and "regenerated" stand for the same Greek word. The sentence omitted stood between the words "regenerated" and "For also Christ said." It interrupts undoubtedly the close and original connection which exists between the first two and the third sentences just given. For all these reasons, the baptismal formula 1 *Ap.*, 61, must be assigned to a commentator.

There remains to be examined the closing section of that chapter. It is introduced by the words: "As a statement, however, to that effect we learn from the apostles this." The words indicate that the text is hopelessly corrupted. It follows directly upon a lengthy quotation from Isaiah. Thus the demonstrative pronoun "this" must be constructed with the succeeding passage. The latter reads: "Since we were begotten, unconscious of our first birth, by necessity out of the humid semen at the mutual mixture of our parents and grew up in foul habits and bad education, in order not to remain children of necessity and ignorance, but of choice and understanding, and to obtain forgiveness of the sins we committed

before, the name of the Father of the universe and the Lord God is named in the water upon the person who has chosen to be born anew and repents his sins; the party who leads the person to be washed to the bath pronouncing just that alone. For nobody can give the name of the unexpressible God. If, however, anybody should *dare to be to do so,* he would suffer of incurable madness. But this bath is called enlightenment as those who learn this are enlightened in their understanding. And the person enlightened is washed in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and in the name of the Holy Spirit who foretold everything about Jesus through the prophets."

There are two distinct assertions neither of which can be correct as they stand. According to the first, the neophytes were baptized in the name of the Father of the universe and the Lord God *alone.* According to the second, baptism was administered in the name of Jesus Christ and in the name of the Holy Spirit. As we have no other information of these two modes of baptism, we may safely assume that the original text of our passage, whatever that may have been, contained only the apostolic formula.

If we had to close our investigation concerning the baptismal formula in the received text of Matt. xxviii. 19 right here, we should have to assign the entire passage Matt. xxviii. 16-20 to the third century. But Eusebius has preserved for us in his *Church History* (III, 5, 1) another version which reads: "Go ye and make disciples of all the Gentiles in my name." The words, as far as they go, are identical with those we find in our text. Only "baptizing them" is omitted and, instead of the trinitarian formula, the phrase "in my name," which answers to the apostolic formula, appears. The omission of "baptizing them" does not affect the meaning of the passage.

Eusebius cannot be accused of having changed the text deliberately for any ulterior purpose. His orthodoxy cannot be doubted. He was one of the leading members of the Council of Nicæa. He never was an anti-trinitarian. As is more than probable, the trinitarian formula was used at that time exclusively in the Gentile churches. The bishop of Cæsarea must, therefore, have found the words as he quotes them in his copy of the first Gospel, and his contemporaries must have been aware of that fact. As the most learned man of his age, Eusebius cannot have used an inferior text. He certainly enjoyed exceptional opportunities for comparing his text with others. He had studied at Antioch, and afterward spent some years at Tyre and in Egypt; as a friend of Constantine, he

traveled extensively and had occasion to visit the principal seats of Christian learning. His copious writings attest how well he used his opportunities for gathering information. Therefore, his reading of Matt. xxviii. 19 must be accepted as the original text; and the additional words now found there have to be regarded as a later emendation made in order to represent Jesus as the author of the trinitarian formula. Moreover, that formula must have been inserted into the official text after the Council of Nicæa, for Eusebius lived till A. D. 339 or 340.

The entire passage Matt. xxviii. 16-20 forms one organic whole. The author, however, cherishes a certain opinion of his own. He does not know anything about the ascension of Jesus—at least, he does not mention it. His silence in that respect is significant, the more so as it is shared by two other Gospels, the second and the fourth. But more important even are the parting words he puts into the mouth of Jesus: "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." According to these words, there was no separation and hence no need of a return, or "second coming." The statement implies the idea of immanence of the crucified Jesus, which does not agree exactly with the transcendence of the ascension account in the Acts.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS. For Bible Classes and Private Study. By *Samuel A. B. Mercer, Ph.D., D.D.* Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co.; London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1919. Pp. xiii, 193. Price, $1.25.

This volume is the first of a series of handbooks constituting another attempt to establish the university in the home—or, if not the university, at least the seminary. The object of this series is to deal with questions of the Bible and early Oriental civilization in such a way as "to make the results of expert investigation accessible to laymen," as well as to assist "those of the clergy who feel the need of direction in their reading." The general editorship has been entrusted to the care of Dr. Samuel A. B. Mercer, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago. Each volume is "planned as a guide to eight months' work of an hour or more a day." In every case specialists will be employed who will endeavor "to present their subjects in the most effective and profitable way which is consonant with the best methods of leading the student to diligent work, careful thinking and thoughtful expression" (Preface).

The volume before us, dealing with the Book of Genesis, presents its subject-matter in the form of daily readings; each assignment is followed by a discussion outlining the author's interpretation of archeological, ethical, social and religious questions involved; suggestions for written and other exercises are added at the close of each lesson. Besides the whole material of Genesis proper, an Introduction is prepared along the same lines, intended to acquaint the student with Old Testament problems in general. A copious list of Review Studies closes the volume.

The prevailing standpoint is that of the liberal Protestant theologian, i. e., an effort is made to reconcile the irrefutable conclusions of modern Biblical research and natural science with the basic religious and moral teachings of Christianity as a revealed religion. Thus we read on page 13: "The Bible is inspired and valuable not as a book of modern science, but as a religious book, containing a religious message for all time. Between the intelligent student of the Old Testament and the intelligent scientist there is absolutely no conflict in the matter of Jewish science." Again, on page 25: "The first act of creation after the organization of the universe was thought to have been light. There need be no misgivings about unsuccessful attempts to reconcile Biblical science with modern science. In this Genesis account we have an expression of the best Hebrew information of the sixth century B. C." These passages may be complemented by one on page 23, defining the "spirit of God" in Gen. i. 2: "Mankind has learned only gradually to know the true character of God. The Jews of the sixth century B. C. had not arrived at a conception of a trinity of persons in the Godhead. The term 'spirit of God,' in this passage, meant to the Hebrews the invisible creative power of God. It did not mean to them what it means to us. Our Lord revealed the true character of God, and told

us of his Holy Spirit. . . ." But the key-note of the whole volume (and, we presume, the whole series) is really sounded in the opening paragraphs of the Introduction, where we read (pp. 3f):

"In the beginning God revealed himself in his universe which he brought into existence. According as the universe developed in manifold ways, so God's revelation of himself developed. Now, at an early stage in man's development, his mind gradually began to discover and to become aware of God; and according as the mind of man grew, so his understanding of God increased. God's revelation of himself and man's discovery of God were, thus, progressive and gradual. . . .Now, many ancient peoples have left permanent records of their ideas of God, and notable among them are the Israelites. Those records which give a peculiar spiritual, truly religious, and a satisfactorily moral ideal of the character of God, and of his relations with men, we call inspired. The test of inspired writings is the religious response to them in the heart of man."

This test of inspired writings is interesting, for in actual application the term "the heart of man" must be taken to signify "the heart of any man living to-day," and in the last analysis the whole matter of divine inspiration is thus acknowledged to be of private concern. In other words, it is not only "Biblical science" that may be discarded, but any passage, whatever its import, may be discarded just as well if it fails to awake a religious response in the modern reader. In fact, the whole volume may be said to constitute a guide as to which passages to discard and which to keep.

We have no quarrel with the author as to the selections which he suggests. Whoever agrees with his premises will find in the little volume much food for thought, even if it is not as independent as the author has tried to make it. Time only will tell whether the compromise embodied in the book has any chance of living. While rockbound orthodoxy may feel its foundations shake, the claims of science can hardly be said to be satisfied—and they will not be silenced either. But it must be granted that the author has solved his self-imposed task with remarkable skill. He does demonstrate the abundant wealth of Hebrew lore in material apt to stimulate modern religious and social thinking—independent of the question as to the exclusive character of this material.

THE ORIENT IN BIBLE TIMES. By *Elihu Grant*. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1920. Pp. xii, 336. Price, $2.50 net.

In the present volume the author undertakes "to help people who are interested in the Bible to see the Hebrews among their neighbors, and to give a rapid, unified impression of the course of events in the Biblical world" (p. vii). As a matter of fact, the volume might well be described as a literary sightseeing trip through the early history of the Near East, for the aim to address "busy people of to-day" (*ibid.*) is constantly kept in mind. The personality of our guide is apt to heighten our interest, considering the fact that Dr. Grant, an expert on Biblical archeology, was himself a resident of the Bible land for a number of years.

The days are past when it was thought possible to gather all information needed regarding the Bible from the Bible itself. So it is not surprising to see the author include practically the whole territory from Persia to Greece, and from the Red Sea to the Euxine, within the scope of his studies. The material thus defined he divides into sixteen chapters of which we mention only the following: The Oldest Civilizations and Modern Interest (I): The Re-

lations of Egypt with Asia (IV); Life in Earliest Babylonia (VI); The Classical Age of Babylon (VII); The Neighbors of Palestine from Ocean and Desert (X); Establishment of the Hebrews in Palestine (XI); Reconstruction Under the Persians (XIII); Old and New Palestine, Features and Customs (XIV); Social and Religious Conditions of the Jews (XV); Political Background for New Testament Times (XVI). At the end of each chapter, Suggestions for Study and Book Lists are added.

As may be apparent even from this partial list, the prevailing interest is centered on the history of civilization as such, i. e., on the development of trade, politics, social institutions, international relations, intellectual and spiritual achievements, etc., of all the various nations involved. It goes without saying that in this way an enormous amount of reading and learning has been thrown together and condensed. To give a specimen of the author's style and mode of thought, we wish to quote his presentation of the religious revolution of Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) in the fourteenth century B. C. (pp. 58f):

"The idiosyncrasies of this king have been attributed to various causes, to the influence of his mother, or of his wife, or both. We do not know the facts concerning the origin of his system of thought. He departed from the orthodoxy of his day and founded the cult of the solar disk. He was a youth of lofty intellectual ambition, idealistic and rigorously logical. He came to the throne at the height of the empire and ruled seventeen years. He lacked political acumen or any adequate interest in the practical side of government. He was enamored of speculation. A propensity to closet philosophy led him to become an academic theologian....Of course, he ran counter to all popular thought, which was very pluralistic, when he insisted upon a monotheistic interpretation of life....

"The dominating conception of the new system was that the sun itself is the life-giver and embracer of all lands and peoples. Distinctions of our day, such as materialist, spiritualist, deist, etc., could hardly be applied to the thought of that age. It was the actual material sun and its heat and force which Ikhnaton adored. To that extent he would seem comparable with a materialist, but he was the most advanced idealist of history to that time. We do not know that he held any idea of the omnipresence of the deity but simply believed that the sun's rays, that is, its power, went everywhere throughout the daytime. At night the sun was absent from the world. Had Ikhnaton lived in our age we might say that he was a deist at night. Logically perhaps he ought to have personalized the night or darkness and the foes within them or to refer all to a hostile force, but we do not know that he did this."

Transcending, however, any benefit from actual information transmitted, seems to be the spirit of free research pervading the whole volume, as it finds expression, e. g., in the author's final remarks on Professor Torrey's revolutionizing studies on Ezra (p. 287):

"Whatever else may be said of any or all of these theories in *Ezra Studies*, the resultant picture is a much more attractive one than the picture that is displaced. This result so common in criticism is of course not the guiding motive, but rather an earnest search for the truth, which may have been undertaken at first because of the suspicion that something was wrong with the traditional scheme of things."

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